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**Project TIPS: A Review of Rochester's Law Enforcement-
Community Collaborative**

By

Gregory M. Drake

**A Thesis Submitted
In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Science
in
Criminal Justice**

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Project TIPS: A Review of Rochester's Law Enforcement-Community Collaborative

Introduction

Starting in the late 1970's, communities across the United States began using police to involve community members in the provision of public safety (Scott, 2009). Community policing has been most notably observed in Seattle (Reed, 1999) and Chicago (Skogan et al., 2002). The transition from traditional policing to community policing was one that took officers, who traditionally answered calls for service, and placed them in a more proactive role. This role was one of building relationships with communities so that the members of those communities could be called upon as a resource for public safety, a term that Scott (2002) refers to as the co-production of public safety.

Much has developed in the realm of "community policing" since its inception. Community policing has slowly evolved in ways to further incorporate communities in stronger partnerships to reduce crime in American neighborhoods. For example, the Chicago Alternative Policing Program has shown criminal justice academicians that community policing programs can be moderately successful at reducing crime and fear, restoring faith in police, and increasing citizen participation. But one objective that community policing has struggled with is stimulating participation from what many academicians argue are the neediest of neighborhoods. This is particularly evident in the anti-snitching culture that is prevalent in many urban neighborhoods in American, where even the most basic forms of citizen involvement with police are considered taboo.

What, if anything, can police and city government do to stimulate participation from these neighborhoods? Is it practical to encourage residents to work with police considering the issues facing many urban neighborhoods? Or must the general health of a neighborhood be

taken into consideration before any such partnerships can be made? These questions were central in one Rochester, N.Y., neighborhood following a highly publicized murder in July of 2007, when, after three weeks of failing to gather information from the neighborhood about the incident, a working group of criminal justice and city agencies from The City of Rochester and Monroe County, and local community organizations from the area came together. Their goal was to develop a program that would facilitate the involvement of the community in issues of public safety. Project TIPS, which stands for Trust – Information – Programs – Services, was the program that they created.

To begin, this analysis will develop an understanding of the concept “community”, and discuss how community factors relate to public safety. Second, these community factors will be looked at within several neighborhoods within the City of Rochester. Third, this research will take a historical look at policing in America. Fourth, it will offer examples of both community building and community policing programs in an effort to better understand what approaches have worked in previous years and why. Fifth, this analysis will attempt to develop a framework from which to analyze the Rochester program Project TIPS. Sixth, the analysis will describe in detail Project TIPS, before using the framework devised from the literature to determine the effectiveness of the program. Seventh, and finally, this analysis will develop a series of policy recommendations designed to steer Project TIPS into line with theories of communities and community involvement in public safety.

Chapter One: Review of the Literature

Classical and Contemporary views of Community

French sociologist Emile Durkheim's discussion of changes in social dynamics in European urban settings during the industrial revolution is often referenced as one of the first to consider the concept of the psychological aspect of community (Durkheim, 1951 [1897]).

Durkheim argued that anomie, or "a state of normlessness or lack of social regulation", was a byproduct of malfunctioning social order created by transitioning communities (from Akers, 2000). In the early part of the 20th century, the Chicago school broached the topic of community as shared social space when they began to consider sections of Chicago through ecological theories of crime. Robert Park and his colleagues (1928) began to consider differences in social structure within different rings, or zones, emanating from the industrial district in the heart of Chicago. Park et al. considered that these zones differed along several variables including socio-economic status, family disruption, and other strains, which ultimately led to increased rates of crime. Akers (2000) summarizes stating that "residents in this area were not [considered] biologically or psychologically abnormal. Rather, their crime and deviance were simply the normal responses to abnormal social conditions" (pg. 140).

Anthropologists Robert and Helen Lynd (1929) sought to design a framework of community as a place where people shared common values and institutions in 1925 when they studied the city of Middletown. They argued that the people within the city all shared a set of common activities, ranging from raising children to engaging in group activities. A decade later, James West underwent a similar study in a city he called Plainville (West, 1945). Similar to the study in Middletown, West sought to investigate the function of the institutions within the city, while discussing the importance of the values that directed the behavior of the residents that

lived there. Warren (1963) argues that these two studies were instrumental to the development of the community concept as they were two of the first to understand how institutions help create and govern social ties among residents in a community.

One of the most influential discussions of community came from Roland Warren in 1963. Warren (1963) states that “the term community implies something both psychological and geographical. Psychologically, it implies shared interests, characteristics, or association, as in the expression ‘community of interests’ or ‘business community’. Geographically, it denotes a specific area where people are clustered. Sociologically, the term combines these two connotations” (pg. 6). Additionally, Warren argues that the original manifestation of community in intellectual discourse came from “a realization that people’s lives were intertwined with the institutions which served them locally, that a community was a total framework of living rather than merely a political jurisdiction, and that an interesting though complex network of people, institutions, shared interests, locality, and a sense of psychological ‘belonging’ had been identified and could further be examined with ‘community’ as the unit of analysis” (pg. 6-7).

After investigating previous literature and its discussion of community as confines of space, the types of people who live in them, the shared institutions and values of the people who live there, the interaction of those residents, and the distribution of power within neighborhoods, Warren (1963) found Parson’s (1951) and Loomis’ (1960) discussion of social systems. Parson states that all social systems are characterized by: (1) goal attainment; (2) adaptation, or the manipulation of the social environment toward the attainment of the prescribed goal; (3) integration of members; and (4) tension and removal of units from the group (from Warren 1963, pg. 46). Similarly, Loomis states that social systems perform six primary processes. These are communication, boundary maintenance, system linkage, socialization, social control, and

institutionalization (from Warren 1963, pg. 46). Warren argues however that neither Parsons nor Loomis have attempted to create a framework of community using a perspective of social systems.

Through this understanding of social systems, Warren (1963) defined community as “that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance” (pg. 10). Warren delineated these major social functions into five categories: production-distribution-consumption, socialization, social control, social participation, and mutual support. Warren argued that communities differed in their ability to perform these five functions, as well as in the approaches they used to carry them out.

Warren (1963) argues that production-distribution-consumption is the process by which units within a community “participate in the process of producing, distributing, and consuming those goods and services which are a part of daily life and access to is desirable...” (pg. 10). Beyond the traditional market barter system, trade using coinage or paper bills fits into this function as well. For example, in a community where the major employer is a lumber mill, employees are able to work to produce a product (lumber), receive compensation (wage), and barter for goods using that compensation (buying food, clothing, or luxury items). Other specialized communities are able to produce a primary good that is then exchanged for the goods and services that are desired by the community’s members.

Second, Warren (1963) states that the socialization of units within a community is a major function of the community. Warren states that socialization at the community level “involves a process by which society or one of its constituent social units transmits prevailing knowledge, social values [or norms], and patterns of behaviors to its individual members” (pg.

10). Warren states that the prime example of this would be the neighborhood school, though family, peer groups, and media outlets also play a significant role in socialization.

The third function offered by Warren (1963) is that of social control. He defines social control as the “process through which a group (the community as a whole or individual institutions in the community) influences the behavior of its members toward conformity with [the group’s] norms” (pg. 11). Warren states that government, through the police force, is the most easily recognizable agent of social control but that “many other social units, including the family, the school, the church, [and] the social agency, play a large part” (pg. 11).

Fourth, Warren (1963) argues that creating avenues for social participation is a major function of communities. Warren argues that throughout history humans have participated in group activity, and that that activity is central to the human experience. Warren also argues that social psychology states that social participation has implications for the functions of the community as a whole. For example, social participation may bolster the strength of identification with community that is held by local residents. Warren states that churches, businesses, volunteer organizations, youth groups, recreational groups, cultural groups, and other units all serve this role in communities.

Last, Warren (1963) argues that the sustenance of mechanisms of mutual support is a major function of communities. Examples might include, as Warren argues, help when an individual is sick, or the use of a neighbor to watch one’s children. This aid is extremely important to the functioning of a neighborhood. Take, for example, a life threatening illness that falls upon the mother of five children in a neighborhood. If that mother can receive aid to survive, she can continue to, in Warren’s terms, socialize her children into the common values of the community. If that mother were to die however, in the absence of aid to raise her children

they may begin to internalize values that are shunned by the community as whole, and perhaps commit acts that are considered criminal by the community. If this situation were to happen to ten or fifty mothers instead of one, the community would face a significant. That, in part, is why Warren argues that mechanisms such as governmental welfare programs or informal neighborly support are so important to the community.

Warren (1963) argues that five alternative auspices, or social units within a community, provide these important functions to communities: (1) individuals or families, (2) informal organizations, (3) formally organized associations, (4) groups for financial gains (business), and (5) the government. Warren states that communities control these five auspices through different means.

For the family and informal organization, Warren (1963) states that churches and schools socialize residents while the church provides informal social control to influence the behavior of its members. Because informal organizations have little formal structure, they can be controlled only by placing controls on the group's members. Additionally, social service agencies are able to control families through stipulations in their mutual support function. Finally, the government possesses the ability to enforce law upon individuals in a family.

Warren (1963) argues that the primary control function used by communities upon business is that of government regulation. However, that involves the control of government, which is discussed below. Warren argues that an additional, yet seldom used, form of control on business is the community wide boycott. Warren argues that this approach requires significant organization among residents in a community.

In regards to volunteer associations, the primary function of control for a community is that of funding. Warren (1963) states that "gift giving" to associations is the primary source of

funding for these organizations, therefore if a community were to choke off the funding to various groups, they could control the number and types of association in the neighborhood. Community controls on government consist primarily of voting, though Warren argues that the community can also be successful through a political process of petitioning and sending letters to congresspersons.

Warren (1963) goes on to argue that while communities offer these five functions to one degree or another, they also differ in regards to four basic characteristics. First, they differ in the extent to which they are autonomous. This ranges from absolute independence in decision making and service provision that affects the community, to total reliance of communities or units external to the community for services and decisions. Second, communities vary in the extent to which service areas for units in the community coincide. On one end, the services within a community (from laundry washing a food purchasing to churches and places for social interaction) will overlap within the community. At the other end, members of a community will receive services from units that arguably belong to other communities. A basic example, of this would be a catholic living in a Jewish neighborhood. The catholic might receive most of their services within the neighborhood except for their church going. Third, Warren argues that communities differ in the strength of their psychological identification with the locality. Fourth, communities differ to the extent that units within the community coordinate and function with one another, something that Warren calls a community's "horizontal pattern."

Warren (1963) states that communities shouldn't be looked at as individual and isolated phenomena. While community units function and interact with one another internally, what Warren terms a community's horizontal pattern, community units also interact with community units externally, through both vertical and horizontal patterns. Through its horizontal pattern, a

community and the units within it are able to influence the processes that perform the five primary functions outlined by Warren. Externally, communities are able to influence and are influenced by units in other communities. An example of this may be a fishing town bartering for supplies with a lumber producing town that it neighbors.

Through its vertical pattern, Warren argues that communities are influenced by units external to itself. For example, a community that relies heavily upon a chain store for its production-distribution-consumption function is at the whim of the executives of that corporation. Should the executive choose to close the branch, a decision beyond the control of the community and its individual units, the result would be of significant detriment to the community.

In summary, Warren (1963) describes a framework for analyzing communities. He argues that communities provide five primary functions to its members: production-distribution-consumption, socialization, social control, social participation, and mutual support. However, not all communities provide these functions at an equal, or even adequate, rate. This is something that Warren refers to as the community problem (see pg. 14). This community problem is evident when witnessing urban decay, maldistribution of crime rates, concentrated disadvantage, and issues regarding public health. Warren concedes that “the community problem” may be a problem of large forces. He states: “many of the problems which are confronted at the community level simply are not solvable at that level at all, but are *problems of the larger society of which the community is a part* (emphasis added).” However, Warren was staunch in his belief that local communities retain substantial power to regulate the maintenance of their primary functions through the organic interaction of the community’s social units.

Lastly, a discussion of community would be lacking without brief mention of the concept of social capital. The notion of social capital, though not explicitly stated, has existed in sociological research since its inception (Portes, 1998). Coleman (1988) describes social capital as the resource potential of relationships stating: “If physical capital is wholly tangible, being embodied in observable material form, human capital is less tangible, being embodied in the skills and knowledge acquired by an individual, social capital is less tangible yet, for it exists in the *relations* among persons (p. 100)”.

Its first conceptual references arguably came in 1980 when French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu stated that “the profits which accrue from membership in a group are the basis of the solidarity that make them possible (1980, p. 248; from Portes, 1998, p. 3)”, and three years earlier in 1977, when American economist Glen Loury argued that: “The merit notion that...each individual will rise to the level justified by his or her competence conflicts with the observation that no one travels that road entirely alone. The social context within which individual maturation occurs strongly conditions what otherwise equally competent individuals can achieve (Loury 1997, p. 176; from Portes 1998).”

As Coleman (1988) argues, social capital can materialize in numerous forms and serve a multitude of functions, not all of them positive. Transfers of social capital can be positive, by providing a single mother with a cheap and safe babysitting option through a neighbor or close friend, or they can be negative, helping to facilitate criminal activity (Coleman 1988). For example, an individual seeking to rob a convenience store may use their social networks to procure a lookout or getaway driver for the robbery. Many modern day gang activities show similar dynamics.

Coleman (1988) argues that social capital is the resource potential of relationships, not the resource actualization of relationships. This distinction has both scientific and theoretical implications for the concept of social capital. Firstly, this distinction makes it exceedingly difficult to measure the extent to which social capital exists within communities. Scientists are left to use survey instruments to gather information about perceptions of relationships from community members as opposed to directly observing acts of resource transfer. The limitations of such survey instruments are well documented in the literature (see Babbie, 2007).

Secondly, this distinction has theoretical implication in regards to the underlying notion of trust within social groups. As the resource potential of relationships, the existence of social capital begins to act as a proxy for the strength of relationships among members of a group. For example, members who entrust the lives of their children to each other would arguably have a stronger bond than those who would only entrust the wellbeing of their pet or home. When these bonds are aggregated to the group level, one can start to examine both the extent to which social capital flows within a community and the social ties which characterize that community.

Coleman (1990) terms the co-transfer of social capital between members of a group reciprocated exchange. For there to be large reciprocation of social capital within a community, there must be other forms of capital to exchange. Coleman (1988) describes capital as being either: social, as described above; human, in the form of the natural and learned skills of an individual; or physical, tangible resources such as money or property. Coleman argues that social capital is simply the access to other resources that individuals within a group might have. Borrowing a lawn mower would be an example of social capital, resource potential of a friendship, allowing for the exchange of a form of physical capital, usage of the equipment. Coleman argues that the implications of this are such: if a community has little aggregate

physical capital, tangible resources, or human capital, skills largely influenced by the education of individuals, than the resource potential of relationships in that community, i.e. social capital, will be far lesser than in communities with higher aggregate physical and human capital, *even if strong social networks exist.*

Communities and Crime Literature

As discussed previous, one of the first references to the importance of community in the field of criminology originated from the Chicago school in the early 20th century. Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) articulate the theoretical premise of the relationship between community member collective action and crime in that “social and organizational characteristics of neighborhoods explain variations in crime rates that are not solely attributable to the aggregated demographic characteristics of [the] individuals [within those neighborhoods] (p. 918).” In essence, they argue that characteristics of communities directly influence the ability of a community to establish norms of behavior, and then to engage mechanisms to control the behaviors of its members.

In the context of community level social control, Al Hunter (1985) argues that there are three types of important concepts to consider. The first is private levels of social control, similar to the scenario offered above, private social control is the use of informal means, i.e. a conversation, to adjust behavior. Private social control is used by one individual upon another. The second concept is that of parochial social control. This is the control asserted upon behaviors by institutions within a community. These institutions may take the form of a local block club, a neighborhood school and its leaders, or the community mosque. The process of parochial level social control, like private level social control, is informal in nature. The last concept offered by Hunter is that of public control. The most common form of this level of

social control is exemplified by police officers and other law enforcement agents. Unlike both private and parochial levels of social control, public social control is formal in nature and relies on individuals who are often external to the issues requiring the use of social control in communities. Arguably, under Warren's (1963) framework this implies the use of social control between social units in two different communities.

Matza (1964) discusses the importance of the social bond that individuals in a community hold for the neighborhood's higher moral order. Matza argues that as individuals become attached to the moral order, they are unlikely to commit deviant acts. Matza explains that the use of techniques of neutralization can allow for individuals to 'drift' away from the higher moral order and commit deviance as it might be defined in that community. The first proponent, that attachment to social standards can control deviance, is extremely troublesome for socially disorganized communities. When considering the work of both Hunter (1985) and Matza (1964) it becomes apparent that there are several modes of controlling the behavior of community members. However, both the types of control outlined by Hunter (private, parochial, and public) and by Matza (stemming from bonds to the greater moral order) rely heavily upon a community's ability to develop agreed upon norms.

Constructed in the early 20th century the Chicago school's conceptualization of social disorganization, the inability of members of a community to understand commonly held norms and desires, was the first conceptual framework attributing variations in crime across areas to differences in local community social structures.

Entering sociological theory in the early 1900's, Social Disorganization Theory was one of the first to posit that variation in structural elements between different communities could lead to differential rates of crime, disorder, and delinquency (Shaw and McKay, 1942; Sampson and

Groves, 1989). Sampson and Groves (1989, p. 777) define Social Disorganization as “the inability of a community structure to realize the common values of its residents and maintain effective social controls.”

As stated above, Shaw and McKay (1929, 1942) were one of the first to introduce what is now referred to as Social Disorganization theory. In an examination of Chicago crime rates from 1900-1933, Shaw and McKay (1942) discovered that crime rates followed distinct geographical patterns that formed rings around the City, regardless of the population characteristics of the people that lived there. This, in effect, argued that ecological factors, beyond individual pathology, had an effect on crime and delinquency. Though they did not test their ideas empirically, Shaw and McKay (1942) offered that the communities within the rings with higher crime had distinct community structural factors that lead to crime. The first of these structural factors was that of concentrated poverty, though Shaw and McKay didn't posit that poverty had a direct relationship on individuals. The relationship argued was that concentrated poverty affected the social structure of a geographic area, weakening the positive attributes provided by various social structures and exacerbating the negative attributes (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993). For example, in areas of concentrated poverty, strong social networks are scarce, and large numbers of unsupervised peer groups are abundant. The second was ethnic heterogeneity, meaning a mixture of many cultures and ideas where community members struggle to communicate and agree on normal values. The third was a high rate of residential mobility, the flow of residents in and out of different neighborhoods and communities. The presence of these structural factors led to instability in neighborhoods and the reduced the potential for social control of deviance in those areas (Bursik and Grasmick, 1993).

Where the social control of deviance is weakened by social disorganization, the inverse may also be true. In what is referred to as Cultural Transmission Theory, Shaw and McKay (1942, pg. 168) argue that:

The importance of the concentration of delinquents is seen most clearly when the effect is viewed in a temporal perspective. The maps representing distribution of delinquents at successive periods indicate that, year after year, decade after decade, the same areas have been characterized by these concentrations. This means that delinquent boys in these areas had contact with not only other delinquent boys but with older offenders, who in turn had contact with delinquents preceding them, and so on to the earliest history of the neighborhood. This contact means that the traditions of delinquency can be transmitted down through successive generations of boys, in the same way that language and other social forms are transmitted (from Williams and McShane, 2010).

Shaw and McKay's description of Cultural Transmission Theory may be considered a form of breakdown in a community's socialization function. As Warren (1963) argues, socialization of a community's dominant values and norms to its members is one of its primary functions. When factors such as high residential mobility and concentrated disadvantage break down mechanisms for interaction among community residents, rates of socialization of community norms is decreased. What remains is increased contact between youthful community members and community members who carry with them non-dominant cultural norms and values, leading to increased socialization of those values to community members. Many of these values may encourage behaviors which the community as a whole considers unlawful and undesirable, resulting in increased rates of crime and delinquency.

Half a century later, Sampson and Groves (1989) conducted an empirical examination of Social Disorganization theory. Their research brought the theory back into academic discourse. Sampson and Groves' argument expounded on the notion posited by Warren (1963) in his discussion of one of a community's primary functions, that of social control. Sampson and Groves ties the concept of social disorganization with the framework of communities as social

systems posited by Warren (1963) by offering that structural factors in communities that reduce their ability to provide the primary function of social control, thus leading to increased rates of crime. Sampson and Groves (1989) also introduced the variables of ‘family disruption’, the number of single parent households, and ‘urbanization’, a function of population density where a sense of anonymity is created, as affecting rates of crime and delinquency in concentration in their analysis.

Building on those five variables, Sampson and Groves (1989) examined factors that intervened in social disorganization, thus allowing the possibility that some communities are able to mitigate the effects of social disorganization. These variables were informal local friendship networks, the ability of a community to supervise teenage peer groups, and residents’ organizational participation. Just as Sampson and Groves argued that the existence of these variables mitigated social disorganization, they also argued that the lack of these factors would further compound social disorganization.

Later in his academic career, Sampson and his colleagues formulated an adapted explanatory model for *why* the structural variable associated with social disorganization leads to increased rates of crime and delinquency within communities. Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls would introduce the notion of Community Collective Efficacy into the field of criminology in 1997.

Collective Efficacy

Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) posit that collective efficacy is “the differential ability of a community to realize the common values of residents and maintain effective social controls” and that variation in collective efficacy “is a major source of neighborhood variation in violence” (pg. 918). Therefore, social structural aspects of a community that stimulate

community member participation and investment in community will increase the community's ability to provide a social control function and thus reduce violent crime rates within a particular area. Sampson et. al. argue that three primary social structural variables account for variation in rates of collective efficacy between communities. These variables were concentrated disadvantage, ethnic and cultural diversity within a community, and residential stability.

Sampson et. al. argues that for collective action to take place, strong social networks within a community must exist, adding that "at the neighborhood level...the willingness of residents to intervene on behalf of the common good depends in large part on the conditions of mutual trust and solidarity between neighbors" (p. 919). It is because of the effect these three variables have on the propensity of neighborhood residents to engage themselves for the benefit of the community that they are so important.

Firstly, Sampson et. al. argue that concentrated disadvantage in urban communities significantly decreases collective efficacy, stating "The alienation, exploitation, and dependency wrought by resource deprivation act as a centrifugal force that stymies collective efficacy. Even if personal ties are strong in areas of concentrated disadvantage, they may be weakly tethered to collective actions" (pg. 919). Furthermore, Sampson et. al. argue that "economic stratification...intensif[ies] the social isolation of lower-income, minority, and single-parent residents from key resources [that] support collective efficacy" (pg. 919).

Secondly, racial and class segregation in urban areas concentrates disadvantage and weakens social structures. Sampson et. al. state that "economic stratification of race and place thus fuels the neighborhood concentration of cumulative forms of disadvantage, intensifying the social isolation of lower income, minority, and single parent residents from key resources supporting collective efficacy."

Thirdly, the creation and continued strengthening of social ties takes time. Because of this, home ownership and high rates of residential tenure offer the increased likelihood of strong social networks within a community. In light of this, Sampson et. al. argue that homeownership and long residential tenure create both a physical and financial sense of ownership in a community and a psychological attachment to one's community, thus increasing the vested interest that residents have in their particular community.

Finally, Sampson et. al. argue that informal social control is only one part of the larger picture that is community crime control. In addition to collective efficacy affecting private and parochial levels of social control, direct intervention or group level collaboration for example, Sampson et. al. argue that public levels of social control, the ability to work with public institutions to acquire resources, is affected by collective efficacy.

As Sampson, Earls, and Raudenbush (1997) imply, neighborhoods with low efficacy struggle to mutually define commonly held interests and standards. Matza (1964) would likely agree and redefine this statement as neighborhoods with low efficacy struggle to agree upon a moral order for which its members might form bonds. Therefore, both Matza and Sampson et al. would agree in principle that neighborhoods with low efficacy would have difficulty both exerting informal social control mechanisms and maintaining a moral standard which neighbors might follow in the absence of social controls.

The body of literature on crime in the community context informs us of the importance of informal actions by community members in crime control. Relationships among residents can help facilitate informal social control, but only if those relationships that help distribute large amounts of social and physical capital throughout the neighborhood. This can come in the form of aiding in child rearing through informal discipline of other's children and through acting as

informal guardians to maintain the wellbeing of the neighborhood. Additionally, collective efficacy among residents aids in a community's ability to work together and to procure capital from without the neighborhood as well, for example through the ability of a neighborhood to steer policing and governmental allocations to their neighborhood. Residential tenure is a significant factor in communities as it facilitates investment and bonding between residents and the community social structure as a whole.

Most importantly, work by Warren (1963) reminds us that public safety is only one function that communities provide. This function is also structurally reliant upon other functions within the community as well. For example, as Sampson and Groves (1989) found in their empirical test of social disorganization theory in Chicago, socio-economic status (which in aggregate might be considered a proxy for a community's capacity to produce, distribute, and consume goods desirable to residents in the community) has a direct influence on the number of unsupervised peer groups in a neighborhood. This lack of supervision also indicates a lack in the capacity of a neighborhood to socialize those youth toward the community's commonly held values and norms, which Sampson and Groves show is an indicator for increased levels of delinquency and criminal behavior. In summary, for the purposes of enhancing public safety the research indicates that it is important to understand not only the direct issue of social control within a neighborhood, but also the health of the other functions provided by the neighborhood.

Chapter Two: Understanding Rochester Neighborhoods

The neighborhoods visited by project TIPS were typical of many neighborhoods in Rochester. In fact, murder is a relatively commonplace occurrence in the Rochester community. Relative to the national average, the census bureau shows that it was 5.6 per 100,000 people in 2007 and trending downward, and the New York State Average, which the New York State Division of Criminal Justice Services reported to be 4.2 per 100,000 New Yorkers in 2007, the city of Rochester averages just under a homicide a week. Rochester has maintained a homicide rate of about 23 per 100,000 people over the past decade, or roughly 46 homicides among its just-over 200,000 residents. Over the past five years, Rochester has recorded 49, 50, 43, 28, and 41 homicides respectively.

These murders, like most crime, are not evenly distributed across the entire city, but contained within particular neighborhoods. In Rochester, the high crime “bad neighborhoods” are contained in what has locally been coined the “crescent”. Sweeping in the form of a crescent from the northeast of Rochester’s industrial center across to the north-west of Rochester’s industrial center, and following into the western portion of the city, the crescent has been the center of crime and disorder in Rochester for the past half century. In a striking example of the maldistribution of crime in Rochester, independent research from the Rochester Institute of Technology found that African American males, age 16-30, and who live in these high crime neighborhoods, have a homicide rate of over 500 per 100,000.

Unsurprisingly, crime is not the only item that is unevenly distributed in Rochester neighborhoods. Several indicators of poor quality of life, ranging from median income to rates of homeownership, are concentrated in the same neighborhoods that account for a disproportionate level of crime on a year-to-year basis in Rochester. These concentrations of

disadvantage, along with strained relations between police officers and minority residents, led to the eruption of the infamous Rochester riot in the summer of 1964. As I will show below, these indicators have changed very little since that time.

The following section uses 2008 data from the census bureau to characterize the Rochester neighborhoods that were visited by Project TIPS. Zip code areas are used as proxies for neighborhoods to accommodate available data. Note that zip codes 14621, 14608, and 14619 each contain at least one neighborhood that was visited by Project TIPS and similar in almost every aspect to the remaining neighborhoods visited by project TIPS but excluded from the charts. For comparison, data from the suburban area of Webster (14580), found ten miles to the east of the city, and New York State as a whole are provided.

Demographic Information

Figure 1 shows the racial and ethnic composition of these neighborhoods in Rochester. Note that the Hispanic category is not mutually exclusive from the Caucasian and African American categories, meaning that individuals within the data could be reported as both Hispanic and Caucasian or as both Hispanic and African American. Compared to Webster and the State, the three Rochester neighborhoods are significantly more diverse and are predominantly African American.

Figure 1

Racial and Ethnic Distribution (2000)

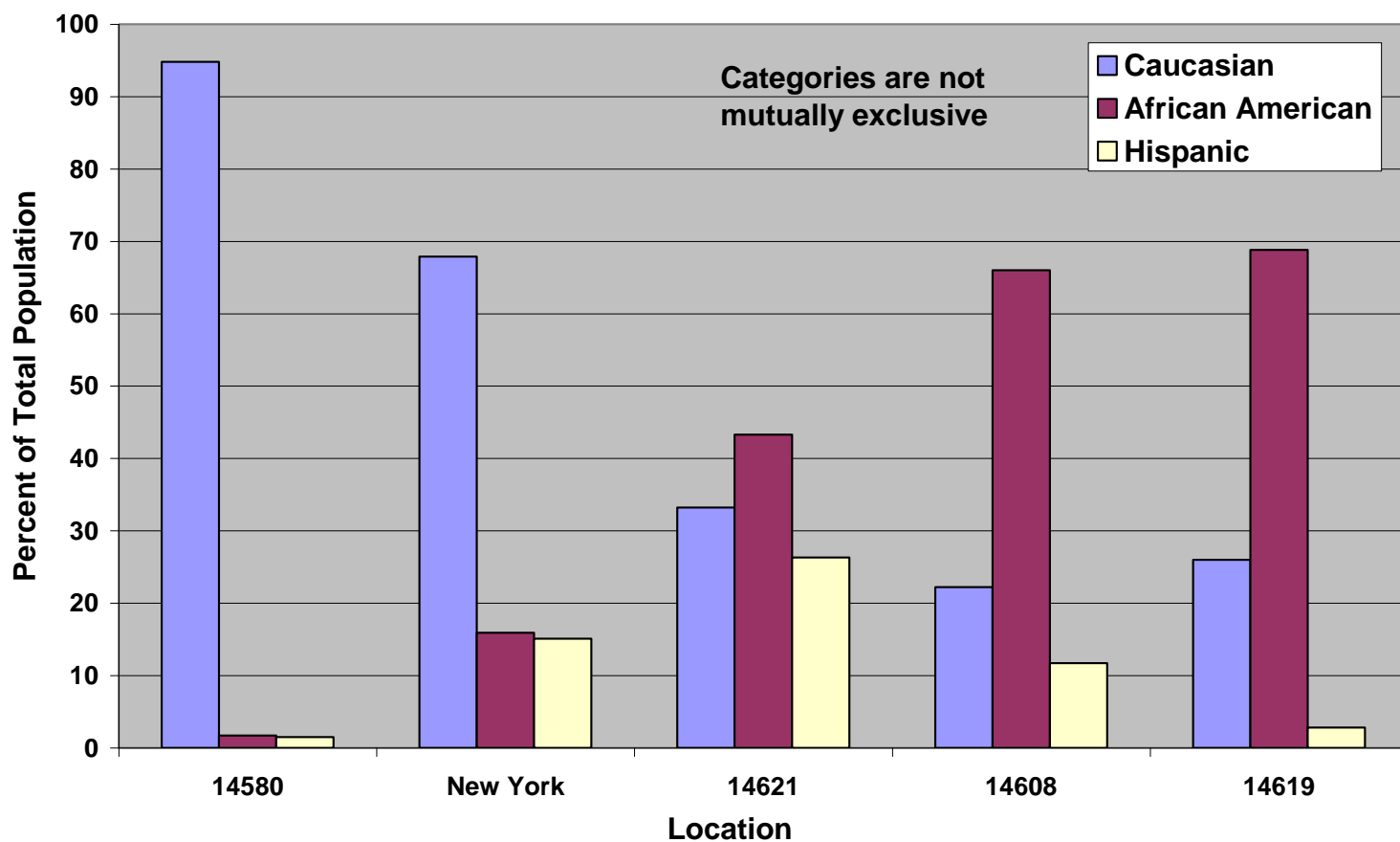


Figure 2, figure 3, and figure 4 show the gender and age distribution of zip codes 14621, 14608, and 14580 respectively, taken from the City-Data website. Not examined are the 14619 neighborhood and the New York State total for redundancy and availabilities' sake respectfully.

Figure 2 (14621)

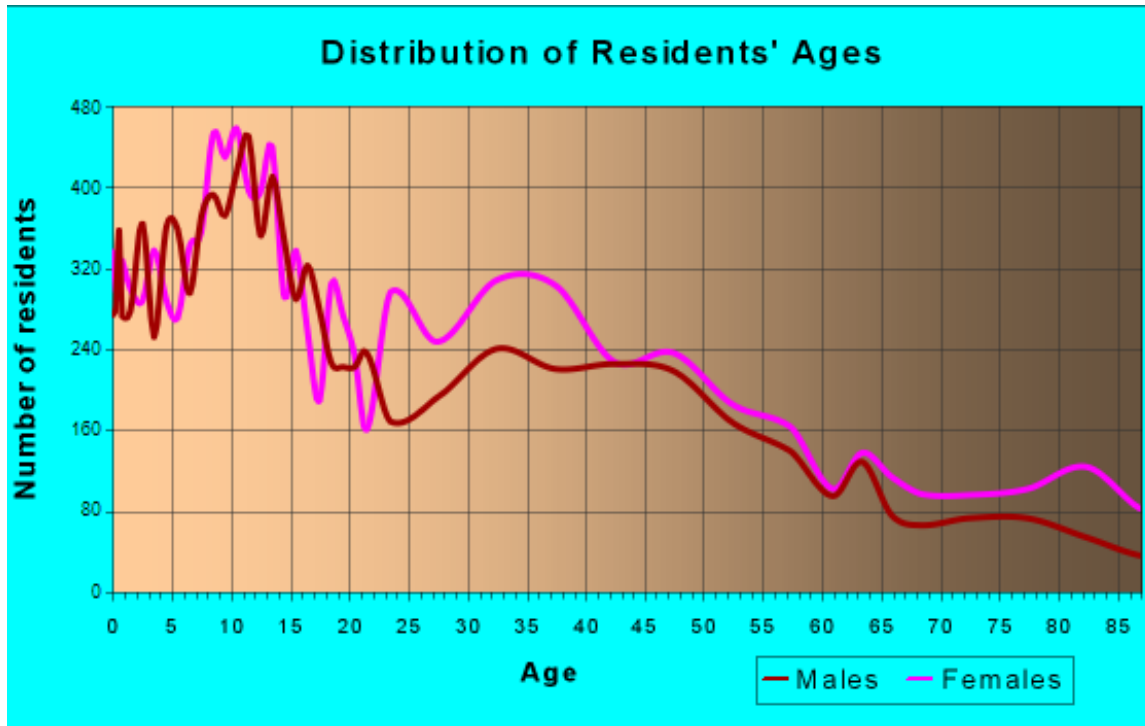


Figure 3 (14608)

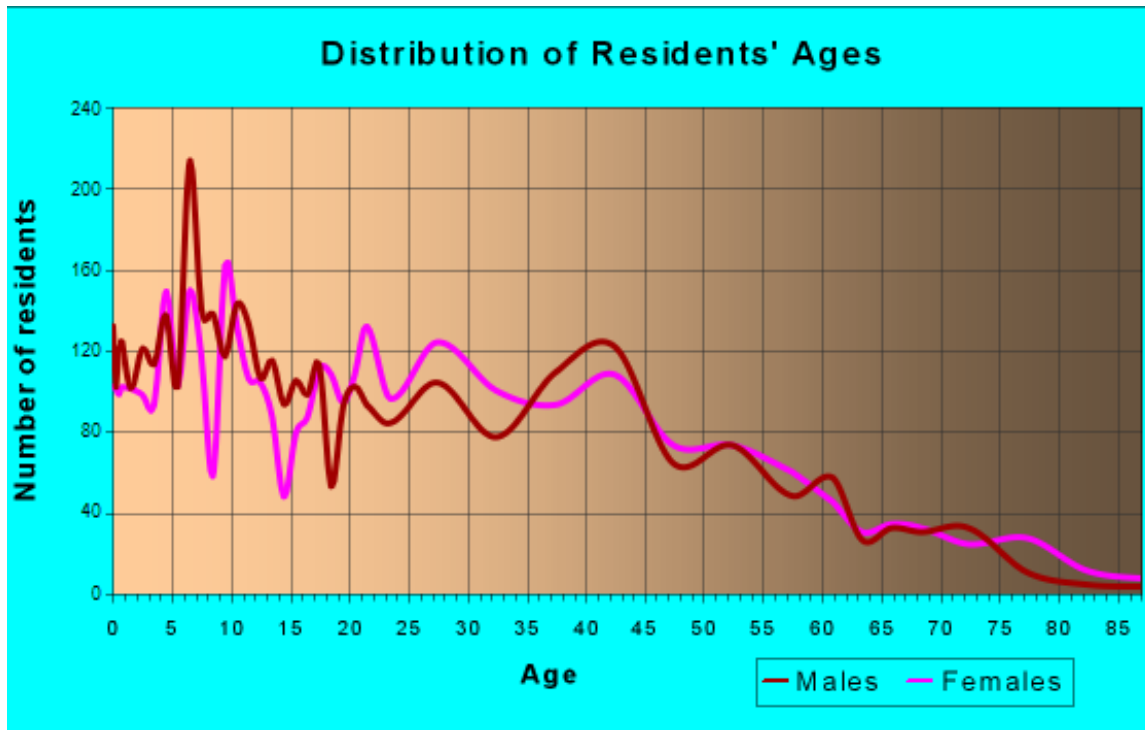
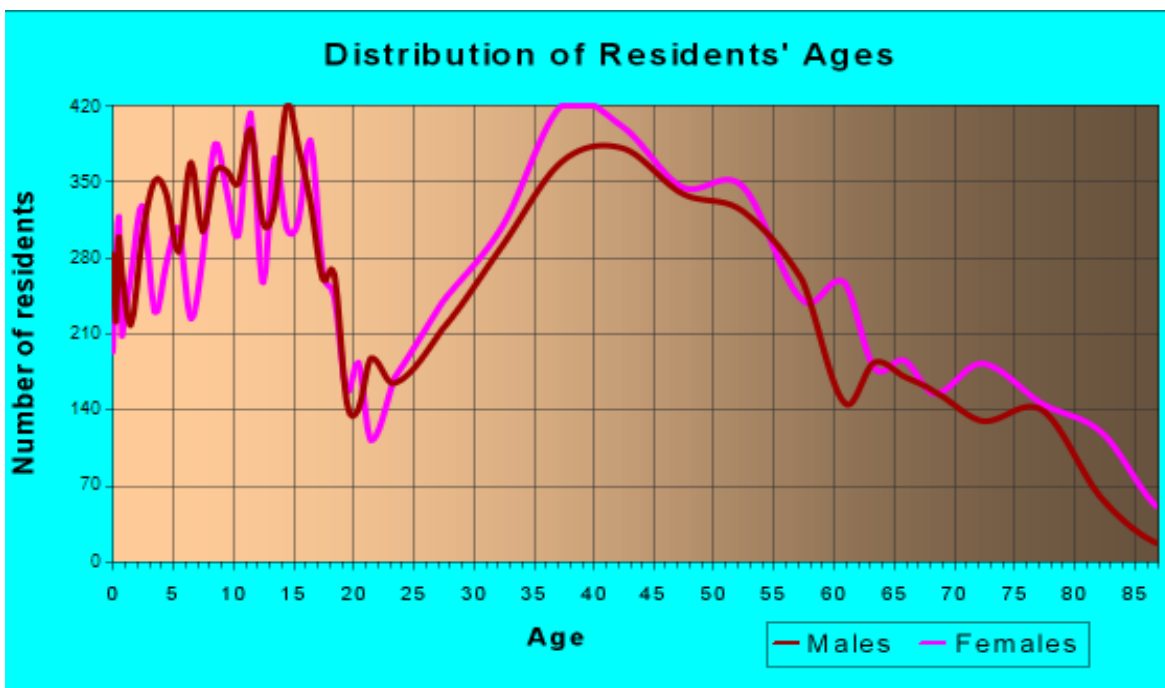


Figure 4 (14580)



It can be seen when comparing figures 2, 3, and 4 that there are significant differences in the distribution of gender and age across the three communities. This difference is most apparent when comparing the 14580 neighborhood to the both the 14608 and the 14621 neighborhoods. The 14580 neighborhood has an abundance of children age 15 and younger, relatively few 18-24 year old 'college aged' people, more parent aged people, and then fewer older residents. Much like the 14580 neighborhood, both the 14608 neighborhood and the 14621 neighborhood have many youth and few 18-24 year old people. However, converse to the 14580 neighborhood, both the 14608 and 14621 neighborhoods have few parent aged residents relative to the number of children within the neighborhood. About half of the residents in the 14621 area and a significant number of the residents in the 14608 area are under the age of 18.

Economic and Social Characteristics

Figure 5 shows the median household income for the five neighborhoods in the analysis. All three Rochester neighborhoods fall below the New York State Median. Most distressing is that the 14621 and 14608 neighborhoods are less than half of the State median. In 2008, the 14608 neighborhood median income was below that of the year's poverty line.

Figure 5

Median Household Income (2008)

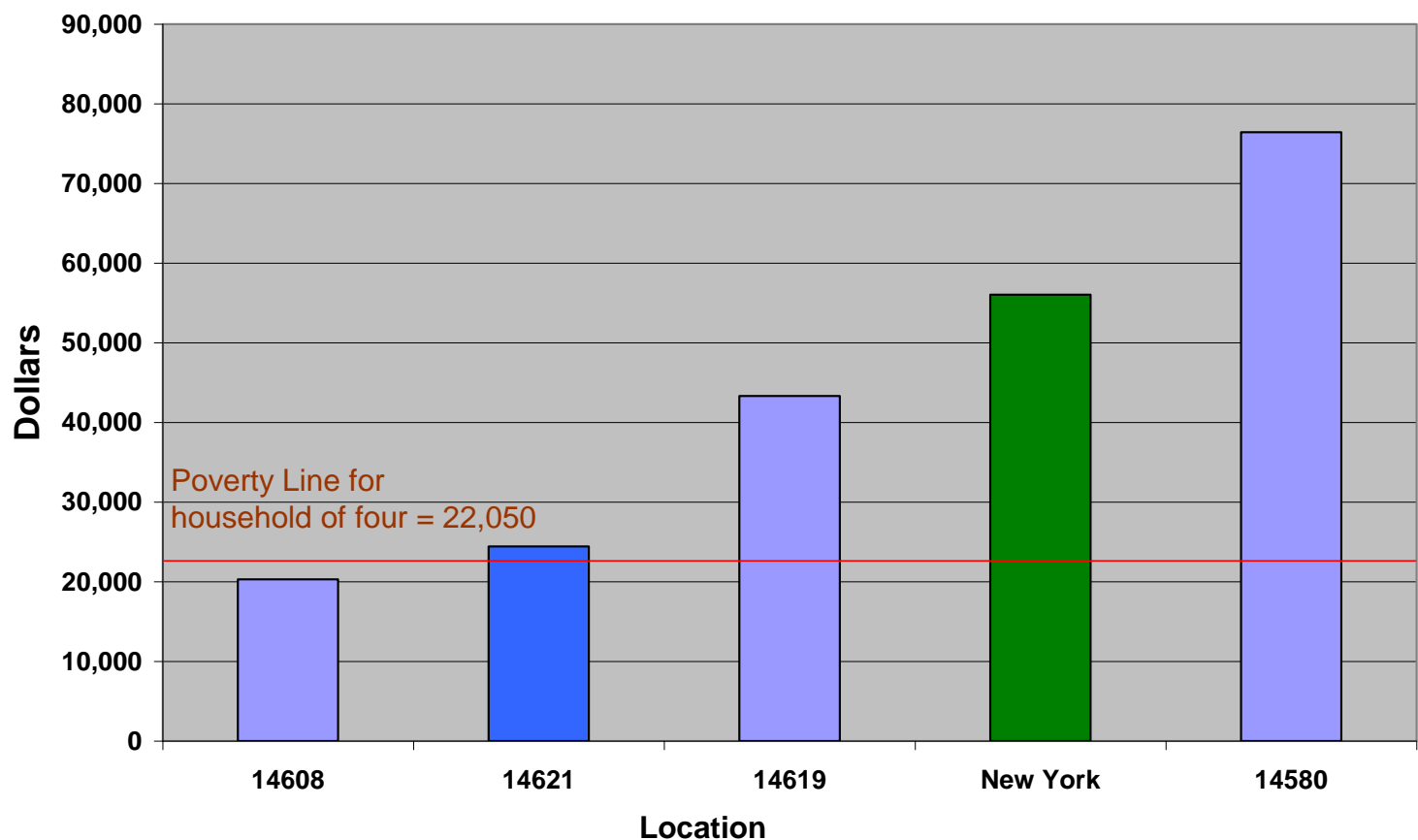


Figure 6 shows the percentage of residents that have an income below the poverty line in each of the five areas in the analysis. The percentage of residents within New York who lived on an income below the poverty line was 13.6% in 2008. The percentage of resident who lived on an income below the poverty line in 2008 within the all three of the Rochester areas community was greater than the state average.

Figure 6

Percent of Residents with Income Below Poverty Line (2008)

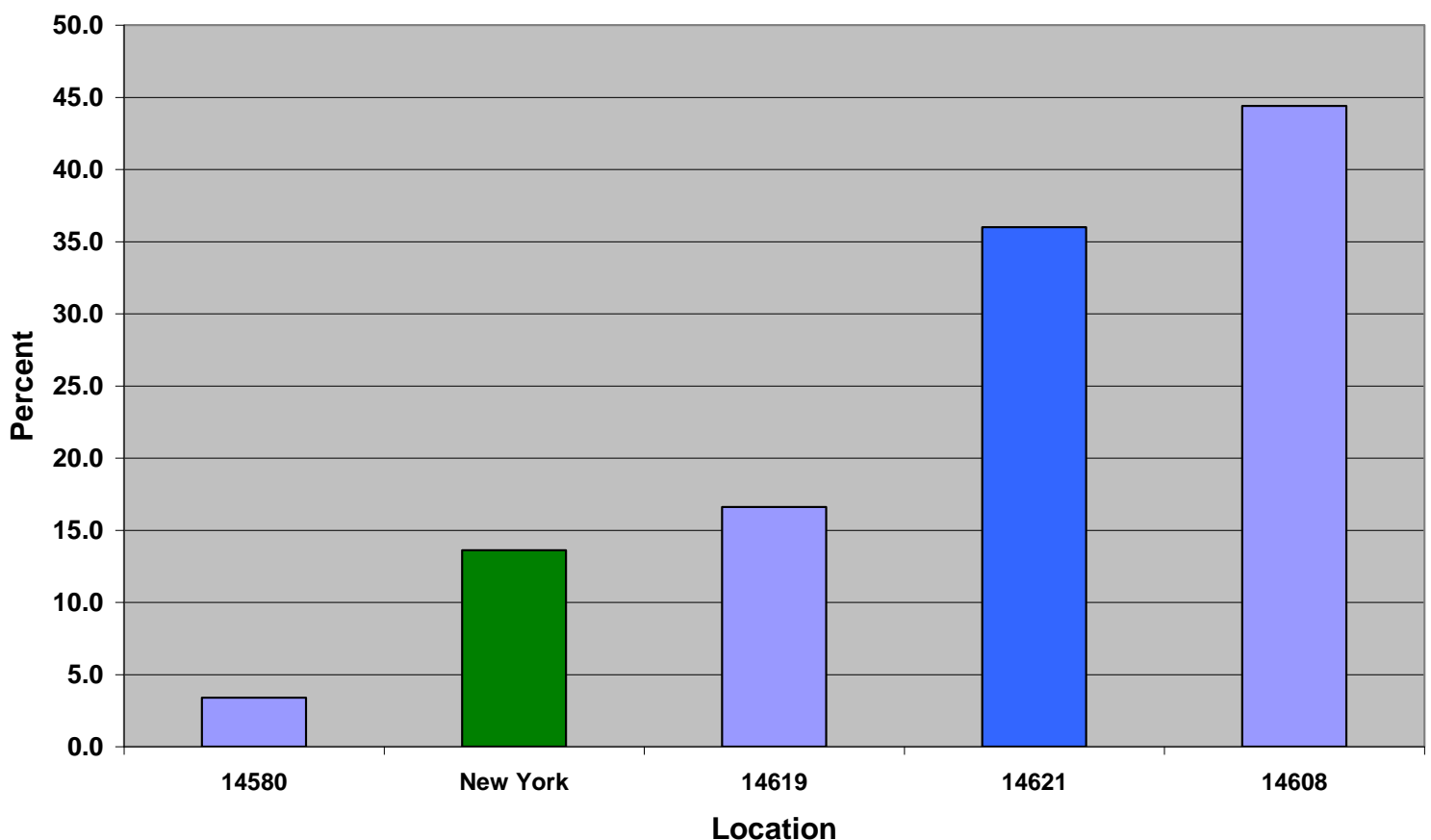


Figure 7 is a representation of the percentage of people working within the five areas in the analysis. The proxy ‘in the labor force’ was used in the place of reported unemployment rates because of the tendency that unemployment rates have of failing to capture those who are willing to work but who have become disenfranchised with the prospects of finding employment, as are typical in poorer urban areas. In the figure, the 14621 and 14608 neighborhoods had the smallest proportion of its residents in the workforce of the five areas. The 14619 area does reasonably well in this indicator. However, a high percentage of individuals in the workforce for the 14619 area, as indicated below, have not transitioned the neighborhood into one that is below the state average for percentage below poverty line. This may indicate that jobs in that area are ones that pay less significantly less than employment as a whole throughout the state.

Figure 7

Percent of Residents Age 16 and Older in Labor Force (2000)

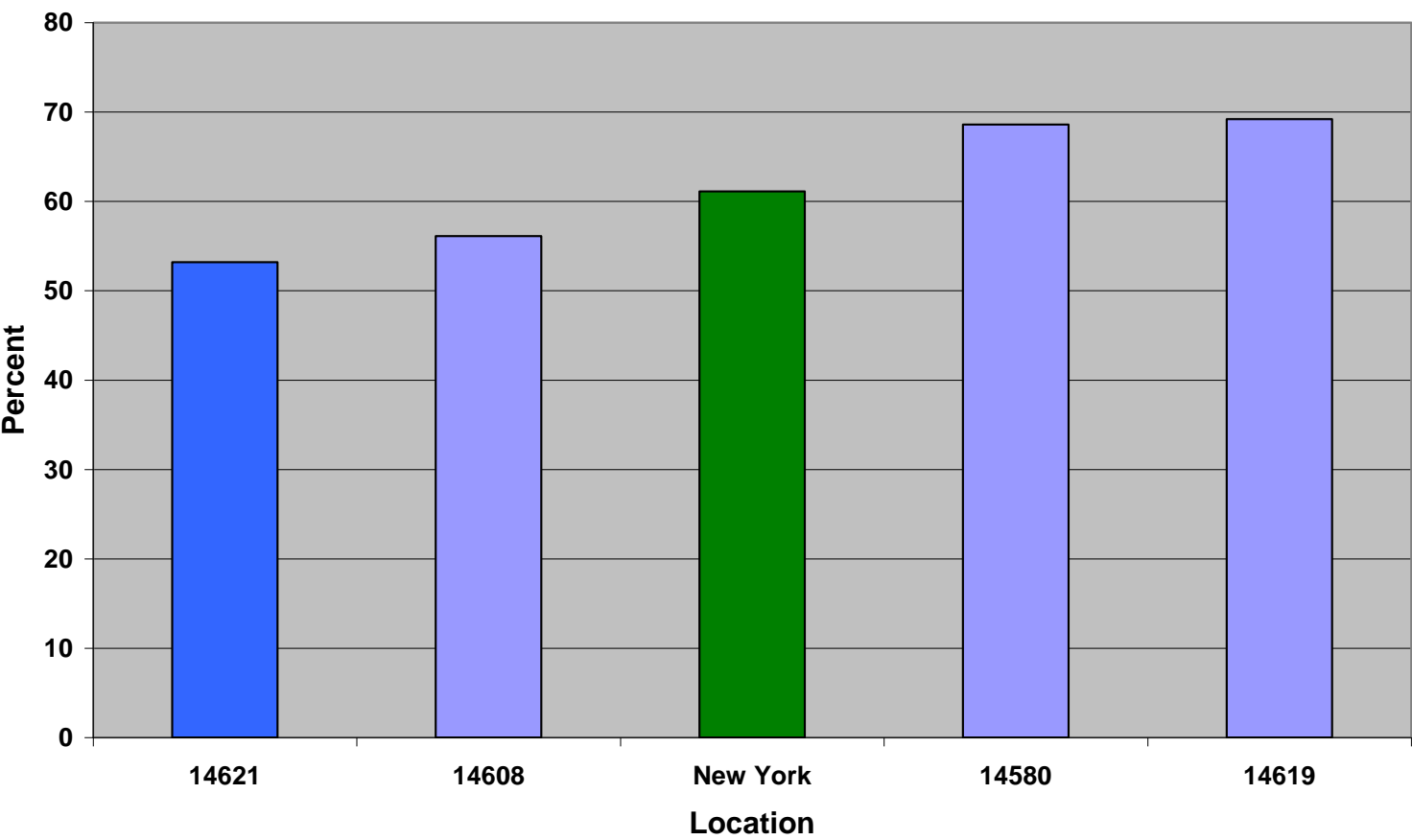


Figure 8 shows the percent of all residences that rent their property in these five areas. The 14621 and 14608 neighborhoods have significantly more residences that rent their property than does New York State as a whole. The 14619 neighborhood has a large percentage of homeowners in part because of the strong community housing organization that is present in that community. Disregarding the 14619 area and its housing organization, as it one of Rochester's few active and productive housing organizations, it can be seen that Rochester is a city where the majority of residents rent. A large percentage of these renters are transient, moving from apartment to apartment after short stays at a residence. This creates significant issues for neighborhood capacity to support strong social networks.

Figure 8

Percent of Households that Rent

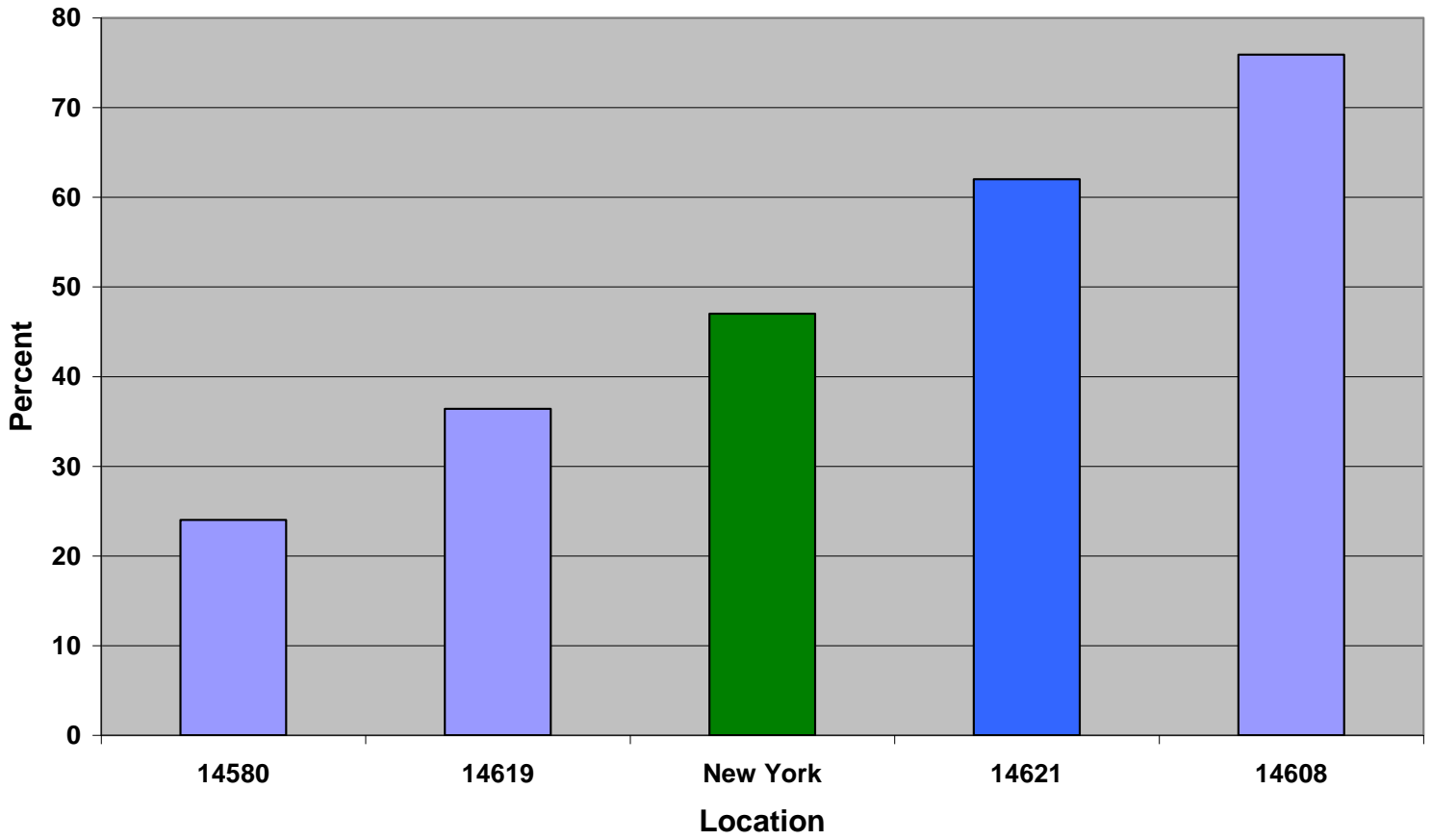
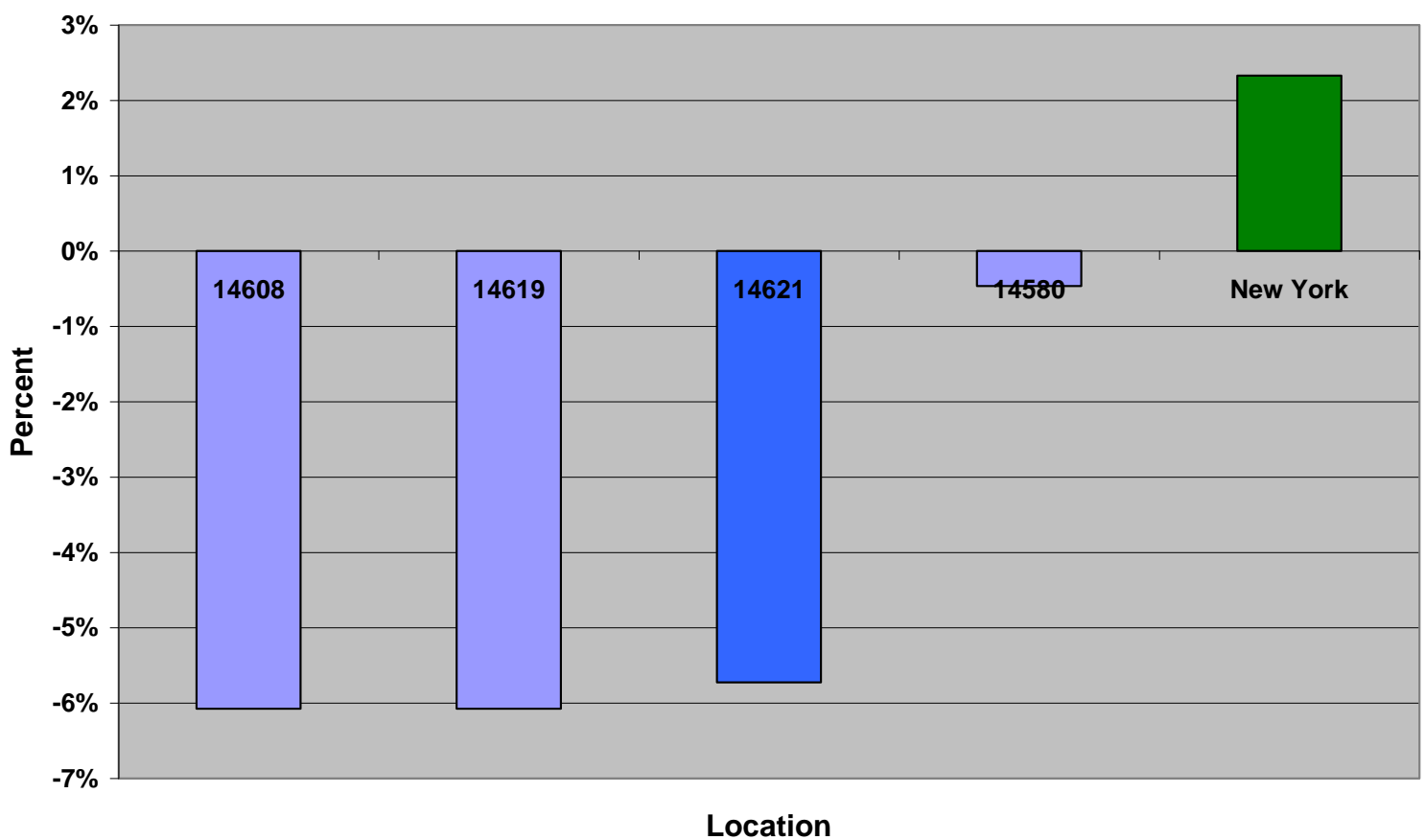


Figure 9 examines the change in population among the five neighborhoods in the analysis. Where New York State as a whole saw a population increase from 2000-2008, all of the other neighborhoods in the analysis saw a decline in population. Additionally, the three urban neighborhoods saw a significantly greater decline in population than did the suburban 14580 neighborhood.

Figure 9

Percent Change in Population from 2000-2008



This information helps to better understand the neighborhoods of concern for Project TIPS. They are areas that have heavy concentrations of minorities and poverty. They are also places that are in constant transition with large amounts of residential turnover. Finally, they are places where the number of young people keeps pace with, and in some places overtakes, the number of parent aged residents.

These issues combined, and concentrated, have serious consequences for the neighborhoods in Rochester. As was discussed in the preceding section, these factors are indicative of serious flaws which serve to undermine Warren's (1963) five primary functions. These issues erode social relations among residents in each of these communities, and thus work to destabilize community efficacy in Rochester neighborhoods.

Chapter Three: Policing and Community

The history of policing in America, and the relationship held between police and communities, can be delineated into three general time periods (Scott, 2009) Starting in the mid-1800's policing was dominated by decentralized ward-based political systems (Scott, 2009) During this period, police tended to live and work in the same areas. As such they also tended to “share the same socio-economic, religious, and ethnic backgrounds. As a result, police officers were well acquainted with the local customs, expectations and values held by that community (Scott, 2009, pg. 824).” Scott states that police during this time performed many of the same policing functions seen today; patrol, order maintenance, and crime prevention, but also played a significant role in providing social services to communities. A result of this service provision was a high level of community satisfaction with the police (Scott, 2009). Despite this satisfaction, Scott argues that policing during this time period was complicated with significant involvement of police in corruption and lack of oversight on police discretion.

In 1931 the Wickersham Commission presented a report to president Hoover calling for improvements in the hiring and practices by police departments throughout the country effectively began the transition of American policing into the reform or professionalization era (Scott, 2009). Scott (2009) argues that the shift into the reform era was driven by three significant changes. The first was a change in the organizational structure of police departments. Scott argues that a centralization of power within police organizations and away from wards created a bureaucratic system of decision making carried out by administrators who were often distanced from community level problems. With this shift also came a change in police function and priorities. While public service was a central role in police work prior to the reform movement, law enforcement functions became the primary role for police organizations during

the movement (Scott, 2009). Scott argues that while the focus on standardization and efficiency in the delivery of police services had removed the influence of political powers and corruption from policing, it also had tremendous implications on community-police relations. Scott states that “[during this period] police were no longer encouraged to develop intimate relationships with residents in an effort to help them solve individual or collective neighborhood problems. As crime control experts, police now began to simply view citizens as a means to information... (Scott, 2009, pg. 825).” Scott also argues that aside from changes in policing philosophy, technological advancements began to create barriers between police and community residents. The advancement of the patrol car for example started to pull officers away from street patrols where they might have been likely to interact with residents in a neighborhood.

Scott (2009) states that there existed three influences that led to the transition into the community era in the 1980's. Scott argues that department focus on major crimes had taken away from department's ability to counteract smaller quality of life types of crime such as graffiti and prostitution. Second, Scott states that several studies began calling into question the effectiveness of the random patrol, rapid response, and follow-up crime control model used by police departments. Last, a realization by police departments began to develop that police alone could do little to confront the issues faced by American communities. Scott characterizes the shift toward a community model of policing as a shift in police organizational structure, a broadening of the police role, and greater collaboration with community elements. Scott argues that police departments began to decentralize, both physically with the creation of police substations, and through a process of empowering lower level officers with greater discretion. The roles of police were also expanded to include the abatement of quality of life issues brought to the attention of the police by community members. Lastly, partnerships between police and

community organizations such as block clubs and neighborhood associations allowed these two groups to “jointly produce crime control and public safety” (Scott, 2009, pg. 827). Scott refers to this as the coproduction of social control in neighborhoods.

The transition into community policing is still taking place. As Scott (2009) states, “it is clear that many police departments cling to the remnants of the professional [or reform] era (Scott, 2009, pg. 826).” Because of this, many examples of community policing and community policing philosophy exist. However, the definition provided by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990) serves as one of the most complete as it adequately accounts for the role of the community in policing. Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux define community policing as:

...a new philosophy of policing, based on the concept that police officers and private citizens working together in creative ways can solve contemporary community problems related to crime, fear of crime, social and physical disorder, and neighborhood decay.

The philosophy is predicated on the belief that achieving these goals requires that police departments develop a new relationship with the law-abiding people in the community, allowing [residents] a greater voice in setting local police priorities and involving them in efforts to improve the overall quality of life in their neighborhoods (pg. 5).

In effect, this definition of community policing was developed as an attempt to bridge many of the elements of Warren’s (1963) community as a social system with police activity. Under this definition, the police work not only as a function of social control, but also as a social institution to aid in the creation of a properly functioning social system. As Reed (1999) states: “police are no longer crime fighters; they become actively engaged in reordering social space, organizing social relations, and regulating disorder (pg. 127).”

Since the early 1980's a large number of police organizations have attempted to incorporate the community policing doctrine. In fact, almost two-thirds of police departments in the United States reported using at least some elements of community policing in 2005 (Wells and Falcone, 2005). However, the role that community members and police officers play in these various attempts at community policing varies greatly. Whitaker (1980) states that there are three roles that citizens play in community policing. First, citizens formulate requests from public service agencies. Second, citizens provide assistance to public service agencies. The most basic example of this might be a neighborhood resident calling the police to inform them about a crime-in-progress. Lastly, Whitaker states that citizens can participate in partnerships or collaborative groups with the police.

Another way to conceptualize the diverse nature of community policing is through a "ladder" of community involvement, as is offered by Arnstein (1969). Towards the low end of the involvement ladder, the police operate in a traditional fashion and ask residents to act as the eyes and ears of the community while relaying information back to the police. The middle range would also include traditional police work, with the community as partners in an effort to reduce crime. Residents might be asked to meet with the parents of known criminally active youth, and local church or school leaders may be asked to participate in programs designed to reduce drug use. At this level, the community has a seat at the table to provide input, but this input is limited as the police still play the largest role in developing priorities. The high end of the community involvement spectrum would be a situation much like the one described by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990). At this level the community not only a partner to and active resource for the police, but community members also have a significant role in influencing the priorities of police and participate in joint decision making with the police. This is most evident in the Chicago

Alternative Policing Strategy, where the entire city service provision structure was altered to accommodate and prioritize citizen requests for quality of life services through the police (Skogan, 2002).

Drawbacks and Limitations to Community Policing

Skogan (1996) argues that despite the nation's desire to use community policing strategies, the strategy has serious drawbacks. The most primary of these drawbacks is the ability to gain and then sustain the support of the community. Skogan states that advocates of community policing often assume that the public desires to partner with the police to co-produce a reduction in crime. Skogan argues however that a myriad of factors may reduce a neighborhood's desire to work with the police. Skogan argues that some neighborhoods have a history of negative interactions with the police and that "especially in disadvantaged neighborhoods, there is too often an antagonistic relationship between residents and the police, who may be perceived as arrogant, brutal, and uncaring" (pg. 31).

In addition to issues of historical conflict between the police and neighborhoods, Skogan argues that the organizational infrastructure upon which to build police-community partnerships may not exist in every neighborhood. This is often the case more so in low-income and higher-crime areas. Skogan states that those organizations that do exist in these neighborhoods may be responsive to residents who fear the police, and "may be more interested in monitoring police misconduct and pressing for greater police accountability to citizens, not getting involved with them (pg. 31)." Discussing citizen involvement in crime reduction programs, Skogan states that:

"crime and fear [in communities] stimulate withdrawal from, not involvement in, community life. In crime ridden neighborhoods, mutual distrust and hostility often are

rampant; residents may view each other with suspicion rather than neighborliness, and this undermines their capacity to forge collective response to local problems. Because they fear retaliation from drug dealers and neighborhood toughs, programs requiring public meetings or organized cooperation may be less successful in areas with high levels of fear (pg. 32).”

Skogan (1996) also argues that ambiguity in communicating the goals and tactics of community policing strategies hampers the community’s ability and desire to form partnerships. Citizens who’s pasts are “strewn with broken promises” of programs and service delivery are likely not to view a community policing strategy with much legitimacy. Racial heterogeneity can lead to weakened relations with the police as well. Skogan states that “suspicion and fear may divide [an] area along race, class, and lifestyle lines, leaving the residents and the organizations that represent them at odds with one another (pg. 32).”

Skogan (1996) argues that for community policing to work the police department must work for the support of residents in neighborhoods. Legitimacy must be rebuilt, and this includes following through with promises of services desired by the neighborhoods. Skogan argues that the integration of police and other county and city level services could help in the development of legitimacy as it would help police follow through with providing desired services.

Duffee, Fluellen, and Renauer (2000) argue that for community policing to be effective it must do more than engage residents as providers of information. Duffee et al. argue that community policing must first concern itself with how police can positively influence the factors that build strong neighborhood institutions.

Drawing from the political, community organization, and social movement literature, Duffee et al. identify nine variables that characterize strong neighborhood-police coproduction of public safety efforts. These variables are; the extent to which community organizations coordinate, the extent to which residents or neighborhood groups possess linkages to individuals and resources that are external to the community, the extent to which a community can control the exchange value of goods within the neighborhood (Duffee et al. provide the example of working with landlords to incentivize the selection of more desirable tenants), the extent to which neighborhoods are included in decision making processes with the police, the extent to which the neighborhood has autonomy in decision making in the neighborhood, the degree to which neighbors share culture and social norms or have a developed understanding and ongoing process of tolerance to differing cultures within the neighborhood, the extent to which neighborhood residents and organizations are involved in partnerships with the police, the extent to which neighborhoods understand and have devised mechanisms to deal with conflicts that arise from diverse sections of the neighborhood, and the degree to which police have encouraged or structured mechanisms for neighborhood residents to actively participate in community organizations designed to reduce crime.

Chapter Four: Previous Community Building and Community Policing Programs

The late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries saw rise to programs designed to build collective efficacy in neighborhoods and facilitate citizen involvement in crime reduction. Increasingly, both the federal government and local city and police agencies began to understand the important role that communities play in reducing crime, both by informal mechanisms or formal partnerships with police. However, the majority of these programs have focused on developing collective efficacy *or* facilitating community involvement in crime reduction, not both.

Over the past half century the United States has implemented programs to involve community in anti-crime initiatives. These ranged from community programs designed to recruit members of the community to aid in law enforcement, neighborhood watch, to programs focused on developing community organizations' capacity to combat crime (Rosenbaum, 1987). The latter will be focused on in the next section.

Skogan (1988) discusses the dynamics of community organizations and their roles in crime prevention. He makes the argument that community organizing to reduce crime can have the opposite affect at times, where community organizations fragment, creating multiple agencies that compete in an area. These agencies can be uncoordinated and can focus on issues that are not directly relevant to crime, such as blighted housing. In addition to this, "crime-prevention efforts may redistribute resources in favor of those who are better off and work in detriment to the poor", thus working against the theoretical notion of socially organizing neighborhoods to reduce crime (pg. 42).

Skogan (1988) argues that community organizations whose creation is to deal with crime tend to have short life spans, and that aiding in the creation of new organizations that are focused

on anti-crime initiatives can be challenging and unsustainable. He argues that community organizations typically form around a specific issue. Furthermore, the lack of tangible success for a community to rally around can shorten the life of an anti-crime organization. To be more efficient, policy might use existing multi-faceted organizations to implement community anti-crime initiatives.

Therefore, for a sustainable anti-crime infrastructure to exist in the community, public agencies might latch onto a community organization that deals with multiple issues. Adding multiple anti-crime initiatives to the agenda of a multi-faceted community organization over the course of time should ensure stability in the implementation of anti-crime initiatives. For example, a fair-housing organization might be tapped to implement a community watch program for one month, and then be tapped to implement a crime victimization awareness fair the following year. This would sustain the anti-crime capacity of the organization over time. This would be more effective than organizing a group of residents for one initiative, watch as the group disbands over time, and then organize a different group of residents for a second initiative.

Skogan (1988) argues that police can help communities develop community watch programs, though the onus to continue the program community often falls to the community once the program has been started. Additionally, Skogan argues that participation in local organizations is a significant predictor for the use of informal social control at the community level. Therefore, stimulating participation in the general social structure of a community is one leg in creating the community social control stool that can theoretically then be used to reduce delinquent behavior in the community.

Work by Perkins, Florin, Rich, Wandersman, and Chavis (1990) discusses the dynamics of resident participation in local grassroots organizations. Perkins et al. find that signs of

physical disorder were negatively related to rates of participation in communities. Additionally, satisfaction in ones' block, perceived block association efficacy, and levels of neighbor interaction were positively associated with organizational participation.

Work by Scott (2002) shows that community policing types of initiatives can have a positive influence on community collective efficacy and social capital. Scott argues that "communities interested in developing social capital must move beyond simply interacting; develop networks of trust, support, and dependency; and resist the debilitating effects of conflict. Therefore, we argue that a conceptual definition of social capital should contain elements of (a) trust/cohesion, (b) shared norms, and (c) collective efficacy. (pg. 152)"

In his review of community-police co-production, Scott (2002) shows that community members living in communities with higher rates of police involvement in community organization and planning meetings report higher rates of collective efficacy and lower rates of fear of crime. Scott also argues that the use of a "feedback" loop of information, citizens offering information to the police and police subsequently reporting on the disposition of the information, helps to build efficacy in neighborhoods.

To investigate the causal relationship between police involvement and collective efficacy, Scott (2002) used interviews with community leaders to determine causal order. In these interviews Scott found that some communities' leaders offered that they were able to use the organization and capacity of their community to draw the attention of the police, weakening the observed relationship that police involvement in community organizations had on the in community rates of collective efficacy. Other communities' leaders however, stated that their community improved after the involvement of police officers in community meetings took place,

implying that community-police co-production can positively influence community collective efficacy and social capital.

One of the most advanced implementations and evaluations of a community policing model was seen in Chicago in 1993 when the city attempted to transform the abstract concept of community policing into a practical police policy in Chicago neighborhoods. Skogan, Steiner, DuBois, Gudell, and Fagan (2002) explain that CAPS was formed in 1993 as a pilot program to facilitate problem solving partnerships between police officers and local community residents. After initial success, the program was expanded to the entire City of Chicago in an effort to re-orient the Chicago Police Department into allocating officers into police service areas for longer durations of time in an attempt to engage citizens in community policing strategies.

Skogan et al. (2002) argue that the two most central components of CAPS were that of community involvement and coordinated city service allocation. Each police district in Chicago under the CAPS model had an advisory council, and each police beat, of which the city totaled 279, held monthly meetings with community residents. The 911 dispatch process was changed to incorporate the new police beat orientation, helping keep officers within their assigned beats. Some police officers were allocated to beats as Neighborhood Relations Officers who were “expected to engage in identifying and addressing a broad range of neighborhood problems in partnership with neighborhood residents and organizations and to attend neighborhood meetings (pg. 1). Skogan et al. show that 16% of all Chicago residents had attended a beat meeting with an average of about 5,800 residents attending beat meetings on a monthly basis, or 30 residents per beat per month. In attendance were representatives of city service agencies, Chicago community alderpersons, school representatives, local businesses, and an average of seven beat officers.

Skogan et al. (2002) argues that the acceptance of policing quality of life and “non-policing issues” came from two sources in Chicago. The first was the desire of the CAPS leadership to maintain community participation in beat meetings. It was discovered shortly after the initiation of the meetings that a large number of the overall topics discussed involved non-crime related issues. In fact, a survey implemented by Skogan et al. (2002) revealed that public disorder types of issues were discussed at 88% of all beat meetings while personal crimes were discussed at just under half. Skogan et al. offer that the CAPS leaders understood that if the police chose to ignore quality of life issues in their community partnerships many residents would chose not to participate.

The second factor leading to the incorporation of non-policing issues into the CAPS problem solving model was a belief among the CAPS leadership that “it was necessary to address both criminal and criminogenic problems” for community policing to have any effect on crime rates (Skogan et al. 2002, pg. 1). The Chicago police department’s rationale behind the CAPS program states:

...CAPS recognizes that graffiti, abandoned vehicles and buildings, malfunctioning lights and other signs of neighborhood disorder do have an adverse effect on both crime and the public’s fear of crime. By addressing these relatively minor problems early on, police and other governmental agencies can prevent them from becoming more serious and widespread crime problems (from Skogan et al., 2002).

In addition to this understanding came a shift in police policy to address quality of life concerns. The police department created a position called problem-building officers who were tasked with identifying and logging physical and social disorder types of issues and routing them to the CAPS Implementation office via CAPS service reports created for the purpose (Skogan et

al., 2002). The CAPS Implementation Office was staffed by 70 civilian employees tasked not only with creating buy-in from local residents to attend and participate in the problem solving process, and then sustain the participation of those residents long term, but also to coordinate city public service projects.

The implementation office was created after significant pushback from agency heads as to which reports of service needs should be prioritized. Skogan et al. (2002) state that the Mayor of Chicago effectively told these department leaders that they would be fired if they didn't prioritize the CAPS reports for service. Skogan et al. states that it took some time, a matter of years in fact, for the street level bureaucrats to follow suit with their agency leaders. Skogan et al. states that some beat officers refused to file the CAPS service reports while in the field, and that many service providers disagreed that CAPS provisions were given priority over their own identified problems.

The actions taken by the Mayor helped to coerce the multiple agencies to work together. Skogan et al. (2002) state that an interagency task force was created to facilitate cooperation which met on a weekly basis to “iron out interagency communication problems (pg. 7-8).” Eventually, an interagency software system was created to coordinate service requests that allowed officers to track the progress of a service request at the behest of residents hungry for city action. Finally, the implementation of a New York City comp-stat type model by the Chicago Police Department, which included review sessions to discuss clearances of CAPS service requests, offered some bite to police beat commanders who failed to address resident's concerns. In the end, some officers noted that the use of the CAPS service requests helps bridge the gap between public service agencies and the local community.

The National Institute of Justice helped fund a significant and lengthy evaluation of the CAPS initiative in the late 1990's. Over the course of a decade a research team attended community meetings, interviewed police officers and public service agents, and . Their analysis breaks down the CAPS initiative into four evaluation criteria, implementation of the initiative, issues regarding public involvement, the successes and limitations in the program's linkages to city services, and the program's overall effectiveness at dealing with issues in Chicago neighborhoods.

Skogan, Harnett, DuBois, Comey, Kaiser, and Lovig (2000) offer the importance of understanding the implementation of police-community partnership programs,

...the policing field is littered with failed efforts to change police organizations.

Translating the abstract concepts of community policing into day-to-day steps that police officers can follow is complicated, and motivating officers to follow those practical instructions is difficult. It is just as difficult to rebuild the collective efficacy of communities that have lost it and to involve residents of poor and disenfranchised neighborhoods in partnerships with the police.

With these observations in mind, a review of their discussion of the implementation of the CAPS initiative follows.

After the city decentralized police beats, the next step was to instill in officers a new way of dealing with community problems. Skogan et al. (2000) describe the CAPS problem solving model as a five step process. First, officers were trained to identify community problems using community input. As discussed above, these were likely to be considered "non-policing" problems by conventional measures. Second, officers were told to analyze information regarding the community. This included information not only about crime locations and criminal actors,

but victims as well. Third, officers were encouraged to develop innovative and non-traditional strategies to address priority community concerns. Fourth, officers were to work collaboratively with community members and city service agencies to implement their developed strategy. Lastly, officers were informed of the importance of evaluating the effectiveness of their coordinated plan, a step often ignored in traditional police work.

Skogan et al. (2000) find that a few specific factors led to the successful implementation of the CAPS problem solving model in individual police beats. Skogan et al. argue that the single most important factor leading to successful implementation was the leadership of the sergeant of a police beat. Skogan et al. found that higher ranking officers, though important as acting as delegates to the community, were too far removed from the day-to-day functions of individual beat officers to influence their behaviors. Skogan et al. offer that beats where sergeants “pushed their officers to focus on key problems, stressed problem solving, clarified the importance of following department protocols, held productive beat meetings, and encouraged innovative thinking and actions among team members” as well as “expected their officers to support the program and work hard to involve individuals in the community and to respond to [the community’s] concerns” were the most successful at implementing the CAPS initiative’s problem solving focus (pg. 2). In addition to the importance of the beat sergeant, Skogan et al. found that the overall capacity of the neighborhood (beat) to organize had little effect on the police beat’s ability to implement the CAPS initiative’s problem solving approach.

The involvement of local residents in a police-community partnership is central to the CAPS initiative. Skogan, Harnett, DuBois, Comey, Twedt-Ball, and Gudell (2000) state the City of Chicago realized this fact and worked hard to achieve a high level of participation in Chicago neighborhoods. Skogan et al. (2000b) state that the city used paid TV and radio ads, ads in

newspapers, posters, billboards, and signs to advertise the CAPS initiative. Additionally, a cable series was sponsored, local organizations received information handouts, beat meeting schedules were posted on the internet, and some community residents received targeted mailings. Skogan et al. offer that television ads and word of mouth were the two most productive means of informing residents of the CAPS initiative.

Skogan et al (2000b) state that each of these beat meetings were held in easily accessible areas and were open to the public. Each meeting was on the same day each month, and the meeting place and meeting time never changed. In this way, participation from community residents was hoped to be sustained for a longer duration than if constant changes to venue or meeting time took place. As a result of these attempts, Skogan et al. find that 60% of all Chicago residents were aware that CAPS beat meetings were taking place in their area. Furthermore, Skogan et al. found that 12% of all Chicago residents stated that they had attended at least one beat meeting. Of those that attended, over half reported that they had attended one or two meetings over the course of a year. About ten percent of the attendees reported being present at half or more of the yearly beat meetings. These attendees were considered to be regulars by those involved (Skogan et al. 2000b).

Skogan et al (2000b) argues that there are two primary factors that led to sustained involvement of residents in CAPS beat meetings. The first was the method in which residents learned about the meetings. Skogan et al argues that those individuals who heard about CAPS via word of mouth were more likely to engage in sustained participation versus those who had heard about CAPS via television ads. The second was the level of civic engagement that residents show in activities in the communities involved unrelated to the CAPS initiative. Skogan states that the more groups that an individual was active in, the greater likelihood that

they would be active in the CAPS program. Additionally, Skogan examined the effects of race and residential tenure on citizen involvement in CAPS. Skogan determines that Blacks were far more likely than both Whites and Latinos to be involved, and Latinos were far less likely than both Blacks and Whites to be involved in CAPS. Skogan argues that residential tenure also held a positive relationship with civic involvement in the CAPS program. Finally, Skogan states that those who were involved in multiple organizations were also more likely to have heard about the program via word-of-mouth, which points to the existence of possible spuriousness in the relationship between having heard about the program via word-of-mouth and increased involvement in CAPS. It is likely that those who heard about the program via word of mouth were more likely to participate because they were generally more civically active people than those who watched TV and learned about the program.

Skogan et al (2000b) shows that participation in CAPS beat meetings were not uniform across Chicago. He states that neighborhoods with high concentrations of homogeneity (high concentrations of a single race or ethnic group) were areas which sustained the highest participation. Neighborhoods with mixed resident demographic populations were seen to sustain less attendance. For example, Skogan et al. shows that the homogeneity threshold for high participation in Latino neighborhoods was 60%, meaning that neighborhoods with “critical masses” of Latinos seemed to sustain high participation. Those neighborhoods with predominantly Black residents were also successful at sustaining participation. This is consistent with work done by Sampson et al. (1997) who argue that racial and ethnic heterogeneity in neighborhoods negatively affects organizational participation in those neighborhoods. Neighborhoods with predominantly White residents and more affluent neighborhoods were seen to struggle to maintain participation in CAPS. This could be explained by the minor relative

concern attributed to issues of crime and violence in those neighborhoods. Skogan et al. also offer that in areas where primary social institutions had failed, participation was higher. They state that “attendance was relatively high in areas where test scores for the city’s public school students are low, truancy rates are high, and graduation rates are poor. Attendance was also higher in areas where residents have significant health problems... and high infant mortality rates.

Skogan et al (2000b) argue that these findings are significant in that they run counter to most indicator of community participation in government-citizen relations. They argue that the ability of CAPS to encourage participation from residents in disenfranchised neighborhoods that historically have troubled relations with the police is exemplary. Second, Skogan et al. offer that these relationships were created despite the presence of indicators that typically spell doom for community participation in local volunteer organizations.

In a six year overview of the CAPS program, Skogan, Steiner, DuBois, Gudell, and Fagan (2002) discuss the CAPS project’s ability to link with city service agencies to tackle issues raised at neighborhood CAPS beat meetings. These agencies are paramount to dealing with many issues that have historically been handed off to policing organization to be dealt with. As discussed previously the mayor threatened to replace anyone who did not re-prioritize their service allocation and Chicago was able to restructure services in a way that prioritized CAPS identified problems. In addition to the mayoral mandate, an interagency committee was organized to meet weekly and deal with issues of implementation and collaboration. One addition made by the committee was the creation of an interagency database that was accessible to police. This database allowed police to identify where in the process a service complaint was. This transparency aided in avoiding the public sentiment of “I always call but nothing ever

changes” and helped develop legitimacy in the city public service system. Skogan et al.’s analysis shows that this system was one of the most productive aspects of the CAPS program. They state that areas of significant decay experienced the greatest benefit from the system. Additionally, the system was said to be used to “target such problems as abandoned buildings, trash, and graffiti” (pg. 14) as well as the removal of abandoned cars.

In addition to the restructuring of service priorities, Chicago focused on strengthening relationships between police officers and other city employees. Most notably, Skogan et al (2002) states that the city formed taskforces that including representatives from the police and health, building, and fire inspectors to develop a multi-pronged approach to remove drug and gang houses from Chicago neighborhoods. A partnership with the county district attorney’s office was also made in an attempt to prosecute crimes of interest to local neighborhoods. The district attorney’s office also aided in the prosecution of city abatement codes that help remove drug houses and beautify neighborhoods. Without the aid of a cooperative district attorney, the enforcement of many of the CAPS identified problems by the police would likely have been for naught.

In their six year evaluation, Skogan et al. (2002) also attempt to parse out the effect that the CAPS program had on the neighborhoods that it served. Most centrally, they seek to determine if the program improved citizen perception of police, if the program was able to decrease crime rates in Chicago neighborhoods, and if neighborhood non-crime problems could be resolved using the CAPS problem solving model.

Skogan et al (2002) find that citizen perceptions of police demeanor, police responsiveness, and police performance all improved over the course of CAPS. However, the program showed little ability to reduce the disparity in these measures across racial and ethnic

groups. This might not be considered an indicator of poor performance as it means that all racial and ethnic groups improved in their perception of the police in a similar fashion.

Analyzing rates of all part one crime, Skogan et al. (2002) find that the majority of crimes declined between 30-50% over the course of the program. Skogan et al. note that satisfaction in these declines should be tempered by the country wide decline in crime that was taking place after the early 1990's. In fact, the decline in these crime categories prior to the implementation of the CAPS program was similar to the decline after the implementation of the program, indicating that the program likely had little effect on crime rates at all. The possible exceptions to this caveat are rates of burglary and murder, which both show steady and significant declines following the implementation of CAPS.

Finally, Skogan et al. (2002) investigate the effect of CAPS on resident perception of community problems. On the whole, Skogan et al. find that the number of citizens that perceive issues as being serious problems decline by no more than 5-7%. When comparing between races and ethnicities however, Skogan et al. find that the number of Blacks who perceive crime, drugs & gangs, physical decay, and social disorder as serious problems decline significantly. Showing quite the opposite trend are Latinos. Skogan et al. find that significantly more Latinos felt that these four issues were serious problems after the implementation of CAPS. Whites were shown to have few residents who changed their opinion of these problems. Skogan et al. argue that one of the primary reasons for the struggles with Latino communities centers on language barriers and communication issues. They state that though a large number of Chicago police are bi-lingual and beat meetings are held in English and Spanish, that "the translators are almost always police or resident amateurs and the meetings run at a slow pace (pg. 27)."

Skogan (1996) highlights some important limitations to community-police partnerships. Skogan argues that developing relationships between police and residents can be a significant challenge in low income neighborhoods that have a negative history with police. Skogan states that citizens in these communities may view police as “arrogant, brutal, and uncaring – not as potential partners (pg. 31).” Second, Skogan highlights that low income and high crime neighborhoods have trouble sustaining citizen participation in community organizations in general, let alone in cooperative groups with the police. In summation, Skogan states “crime and fear stimulate withdraw from, not involvement in, community life. In crime ridden neighborhoods, mutual distrust and hostility are rampant; residents may view each other with suspicion rather than neighborliness, and this undermines their capacity to forge collective responses to local problems (pg. 32).”

Skogan et al (2002) also discuss some of the remaining challenges to the CAPS program. Specific to challenges in implementation, Skogan et al state that, despite early enthusiasm, “within a few years, the program stagnated.... Key personnel at police headquarters and in the field did not understand the program and were opposed to it.... When CAPS could no longer rely on the extraordinary efforts of its founders, the momentum of the early years was lost. Many mandatory meetings were held just to go through the motions; key planning documents were completed in perfunctory fashion and filed away; high level managers evidenced little interest in how well CAPS was being implemented in districts. Evaluators in the field found little creative problem solving...and commitment to the program among the department’s operational managers – sergeants and lieutenants – was spotty” (pg. 28).

Skogan et al. (2002) also argue that the increasing Latino population in Chicago would create issues for the productiveness of the CAPS program. As this demographic was very difficult to reach out to during beat meetings, attendance and participation from this demographic was low during CAPS beat meetings. In addition to this, Latinos were the only demographic to report increasing crime trends when surveyed. Both of these issues suggest that refinements to the CAPS program are needed to better incorporate Latino communities.

These three challenges; changing demographics, struggling community involvement in the neediest neighborhoods, and stagnating enthusiasm from police and service agents over time, highlight significant issues for the CAPS program as it progresses. Some of these issues are structural. Inequality in job and housing markets has led to and leads to disparity in police enforcement of crimes, which continues to strain the capacity of neighborhoods to form partnerships with police. This inequality also reduces that capacity and willingness of neighborhood residents to participate in community organizations and partnerships with the police. A police driven program will likely do little to deal with these structural issues.

Despite these limitations, and changes to the social dynamics of urban neighborhoods, the CAPS program had shown positive developments in creating community-police partnerships to deal with neighborhood problems. What is most impressive about CAPS is that it was able to develop community partnerships despite the presence of indicators of low community organizational participation in a number of communities in Chicago. Skogan (2002) states that in areas where socio-economic status was low, and crime was high, that participation tended to be highest. This indicates that under the CAPS model police may have had a positive influence in creating collective efficacy in socially disorganized Chicago neighborhoods.

Roehl and Cook (1984) underwent an analysis of the Urban Crime Prevention Program. The UCPP was designed to increase neighborhood participation, develop community capacity to fight crime, and create partnerships between community and public agencies in locations across the nation. Through grant allocation to community organizations found in low-moderate income areas for local grassroots anti-crime projects, the program helped developed 84 projects over an 18 month span (Roehl and Cook 1984). Roehl and Cook's study argues that the program generally achieved its goals, though they suggest that the locations that were more effective generally; 1.) organized citizens; 2.) built partnerships between neighborhood groups and criminal justice agencies; and 3.) developed and followed-up with neighborhood groups while providing "substantial" technical support (pg. iii). Additionally, Skogan (1988) argues that lack of oversight in funding given for the Urban Crime Prevention Program resulted in a lack of focus for what the funding was used for, stating that many organizations used the funding for other social programs and then claimed their work to be crime control, muddling our understanding for the program's effectiveness

Bennett and Lavrakas (1989) conducted analysis of the Eisenhower Foundation Neighborhood Program. The Eisenhower Foundation Neighborhood Program provided grants and assistance to community based organization's to implement their own specific programs in areas throughout the country, much like the Urban Crime Prevention Program. This program implemented a community-based planning model. Its leadership argued that this design would offer three benefits (Bennett and Lavrakas 1989). First, this model would create a vested interest among residents, thus increasing resident participation. Second, the approach would result in a program tailored to local problems, thus being more effective. Thirdly, legitimacy of the program would be increased, as it would be directed by community members.

On average, Bennett and Lavrakas (1989) argue that about 1 in 2 residents in the neighborhoods involved in these programs knew about at least one of the projects employed and about 1 in 5 of the residents in the neighborhoods participated in one of the projects. The program implemented an approach that provided outside technical assistance to local communities so that the program would be more effective, a finding derived from the work done by Roehl and Cook (1984).

Bennett and Lavrakas (1989) show that programs that encouraged residents to join block clubs and participate in citizen patrols had the most positive findings. This can be interpreted as meaning those programs that influenced rates of citizen engagement were more successful at reducing citizen fear of crime and increasing neighborhood organization. Only one program, however, appeared to decrease rates of crime. This might be explained by the programs' inabilities to address multiple sources of social disorganization. For example, building neighborhood social networks and neighborhood organizational participation may be for naught if residential tenure is not addressed and levels of community level informal social control not increased.

The One Vision One Life program was a grassroots community coalition designed to reduce violence in Pittsburgh communities. Wilson, Chermak, and McGarrell (2010) state that "One Vision seeks to prevent violence using a problem-solving, data-driven model to inform how community organizations and outreach teams respond to homicide incidents. It also uses street-level intelligence to intervene in escalating disputes and seeks to place youth in appropriate social programs" (pg. 2). One Vision also shared information with law enforcement organizations (Wilson, Chermak, and McGarrell, 2010).

Part of the program strategy involved the social development of those communities, though this was not a substantial part of the program's implementation. Wilson, Chermak, and

McGarrell (2010) state that the leadership of the program did a large portion of the community development. Through informal interactions with community leadership, there is some evidence that the program leaders were able to build social networks within the leadership of the communities. Wilson, Chermak, and McGarrell state that the program leaders had a depth of understanding for the communities they worked with, which made it easy for them to understand the issues of those communities and navigate the social structure of the communities to build networks. Wilson, Chermak, and McGarrell state that the program leaders devoted significant time and efforts to improving neighborhood conditions, creating programming that might increase opportunities for residents, and seeking funding to bring additional support services into their areas” (pg. 48). Wilson, Chermak, and McGarrell state that the work of the program leaders lead to the implementation of community initiatives for educating and understanding community violence.

The program leaders also emphasized that the One Vision organization build connections to local community and public organizations. Wilson, Chermak, and McGarrell (2010) state that “the connections of the directors were quite exhaustive, [including] medical, educational, social service, community, political, and law-enforcement agencies” (pg. 49). In their evaluation, Wilson, Chermak, and McGarrell state that the One Vision program was ineffective at reducing violence in Pittsburgh. However, the evidence suggests that the program helped to develop strong social ties among community leaders and service providers. This helped create a dense network of social infrastructure might be called upon to aid in future programs.

Summarizing the Literature

Examining the body of literature of communities and crime identifies some common trends. In regards to the collective efficacy of a neighborhood to use social control, strong

neighborhoods are characterized by reciprocated trust, the establishment of shared norms among community members, and the presence of dense strong social networks. In neighborhoods where residents are highly mobile, concentrated disadvantage is present, and high levels of class and race segregation exist, the development of strong social networks upon which to create mutual and reciprocated trust and common behavioral norms is not likely to take place. Therefore social control in disorganized neighborhoods, both by informal means or through the directed use of formal means, is likely to be minute.

Skogan (1996) and Stoutland (2001) both describe the underlying dynamics of community relations with the police. Skogan argues that deep and storied histories of conflict between community members, especially minorities, and the police hamper relations between the two. The fleeting nature of government programs in poor urban communities also degrades the legitimacy of any programs the police might organize, as they are the face of government service. Skogan and Stoutland both argue that community perceptions of police, specific to whether or not the community feels police show respect or differ in what neighborhood problems are important to solve, also affect relations.

Community involvement in crime prevention initiatives is a significant predictor of program success (Scott, 2002). However, citizen participation is one of the hardest factors to stimulate and maintain when organizing a crime prevention or reduction program (Grinc, 1994; Skogan, 2004). Grinc (1994) argues that fear of retaliation, poor relations with police, the fleeting nature and lack of follow through of government sponsored programs, and the inability to communicate a consistent role for the community all hamper the communities willingness to engage in these programs. Additionally, Grinc argues that there is a general lack of community organizations to work with the police in poor neighborhoods, in part because diversity among

residents leads to infighting that either reduces the number of community organizations that might work with the police or create a situation where police must choose between two competing and equally deserving factions. Skogan (1996) and Pattavina et al. (2006) both argue that residential mobility in neighborhoods hampers involvement in community organizations. Sampson et al. (1997) argues that highly mobile residents lack investment in the communities in which they live, and are therefore unlikely to participate in community functions such as anti-crime initiatives. Additionally, what limited participation that does take place by highly mobile residents ends when those individuals leave the neighborhood. Lastly, both Roehl and Cook (1984) and Perkins et al (1990) argue that physical disorder and concentrations of poverty limit resident's desire to participate in programs.

Despite these concerns, a modest body of research has shown that that government support, both in the forms of financial capital and other resources, can stimulate resident participation in anti-crime programs and strengthen community social ties (Roehl and Cook, 1984; Bennett and Lavrakas, 1989; Perkins et al, 1990; Scott, 2002; Skogan et al., 2002; and Wilson, Chermak, and McGarrell, 2010). Both community led programs supported with government resources and community policing initiatives organized by the police have offered some evidence of overcoming the community factors that diminish participation and issues regarding citizen relations with the police. The best example of this might be Chicago's CAPS program, where residents in neighborhoods characterized by social and physical disorder, and historical conflict with the police were the most likely to attend community policing beat meetings. Research from the CAPS program suggests that the factor most likely responsible for facilitating this participation despite indicators suggesting that resident participation would be low was the revitalization of legitimacy in government services and the police. The restructuring

of Chicago's service allocation also helped police to follow through with the public's recommendations. By giving the community the ability to not only voice concerns about neighborhood problems, but in essence steer police priorities, residents felt that they were being listened to and thus given incentive to participate on a regular basis. Skogan shows that this led to increased public support of the police among populations who historically have had negative relations with the police.

Chapter Five: Project TIPS

Rochester's Project TIPS was a program organized in the wake of the highly publicized murder of Latasha Shaw. Latasha Shaw arrived on the scene of a fight that her daughter was involved in and was stabbed to death by a group estimated to be about thirty people. Much to the dismay of the Rochester community, two weeks after Mrs. Shaw's death, no information detailing the event had surfaced.

It was thought that fear of retribution was responsible for this lack of communicating with the police. Gary Mervis, chairman and founder of Camp Good Days and director of the Partners Against Violence Everywhere (PAVE) initiative had the idea to survey every residence in the area, therefore eliminating the possibility that those responsible for the murder might know who reported information to the police. Peripherally to this main function, the same group that was responsible for surveying the community to gather information about crimes would also conduct a quality of life survey to show the residents that local public service agencies and agents valued the neighborhood. These reports, and information about quality of life issues, would then be sent to the major public service agencies in Rochester.

The idea and structure of Project TIPS came from two specific influences. The first influence was that of Marlo Washington, Pastor at Baber Church in Rochester. Pastor Washington was part of the organization Rise-Up Rochester, whose goal was to encourage the participation of the Rochester community in important issues. One of these issues was crime in Rochester's communities. Rise-Up Rochester operated a billboard campaign designed to encourage residents to share information with law enforcement and public service agencies.

Second, Mr. Mervis had observed a fire department program in Rochester that sent firefighters to a community to determine if residents had installed fire detectors in their home or

apartment. Groups were sent out to knock on each resident's door, asking them a few questions regarding fire safety. Mr. Mervis felt that this idea could be implemented by the police department in a particular community to offer a sense of anonymity to those who might wish to report crimes but who are afraid of being identified to offenders by the police.

Mr. Mervis and Pastor Washington brought the plan to then Rochester Police Chief David Moore who bought into the idea of the program out of concern for violence in Rochester's neighborhoods. Together, this first TIPS Partnership worked to implement the program at the location of the Latasha Shaw Murder. On the 13th of August, 2008, the Driving Park and Dewey Avenue event became the first of the Project TIPS events, as it would later be named.

Community organizations and public service agencies from the greater Rochester community were invited to attend the event to provide information to neighborhood residents. Camp Good Days and Special Times, an organization that provides services for individuals affected by cancer; Pathways to Peace, an organization focused on reducing gang related violence; and the Monroe County Humane Society were some of the many groups involved. Numerous other community organizations, public service agencies, and criminal justice organizations were on site as well.

At about 2 o'clock, groups of volunteers were sent out to conduct the community surveys. Members of the neighborhood were talked into volunteering after they were given a free t-shirt. Groups of volunteers were accompanied by a police officer and sent out to nearby neighborhood street blocks to conduct the surveys. The original survey consisted of five questions. It asked residents about their likes, concerns, and fears regarding their neighborhood. Additionally, residents were asked if they had any ideas about solutions to their community's problems, and if they had anything that they wanted to share with the police.

During these community surveys, residents were also invited to attend a community cook-out based in a central location in the community. At this cook-out, residents would have the opportunity to interact with and obtain information from public service providers that had set up information booths at the central location. The idea among those in the original TIPS Partnership was that residents formed negative perceptions of police officers because they interacted with them only in a negative context, during a field interview or an arrest for instance. Because of this thought, at the cookout residents would also be given the opportunity to interact with police officers in a positive setting, the goal being to humanize police officers in the eyes of residents, and to break down the negative associations that some residents carry about police. Several incentives were used to encourage residents to attend the cook-out: a disc jockey was hired to play music for the event; horses were brought to the event by the organization “A Horse’s Friend” to give free rides to youth; the police department helped create identification cards for youth; the fire department set up their instructional fire safety house; and free food, drink, and small prizes were offered to residents who attended.

The Driving Park and Dewey Avenue Project TIPS event was considered by all that participated to be a tremendous success. This enthusiasm eventually led to the ‘creation’ of the broader Project TIPS Partnership. This working group was tasked with planning, organizing, and implementing future Project TIPS events. This partnership was heavily represented by the same criminal justice and community organizations that were involved in Rochester’s Project Exile Advisory Board, a group responsible for running local public service announcements aimed at reducing firearm violence in Rochester’s neighborhoods. The final Project TIPS Partnership included leaders from seven organizations including: the Monroe County Probation Department; the Monroe County Sheriff’s Department; the New York State Division of Parole;

New York State Police; the Monroe County District Attorney's Office; the United States Attorney's Office for the Western District of New York; the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms, and Explosives; Federal Border Patrol; and the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement. In addition to these groups, community organizations and local governmental agencies were involved. Camp Good Days and Special Times' Partners Against Violence Everywhere, the Rise-Up Rochester group out of Baber Church, Teen Empowerment, Pathways to Peace, and other youth groups were involved. Additionally, community groups in the areas that Project TIPS serviced were reached out to help provide understanding of the needs of the community. In regards to Government agencies, the Department of Motor Vehicles, Department of Social Services, Health services, representatives from the Rochester City School District, and the Department of City Recreation were involved in coordinating the project.

Overall, the Project TIPS partnership organized and implemented s Project TIPS Events in addition to the initial Driving Park and Dewey Avenue event from the summer of 2007 to the summer of 2010, and continues to plan for future events in 2011. Over time the project changed to incorporate new groups, changes in the survey instrument, and the implementation of follow-up with communities. Below is the series of steps involved in organizing and implementing the Project TIPS events.

What is Project TIPS?

The following section will outline the intervention that project TIPS is, or in other words, it will describe what the project is and what it was intended to do. This section was compiled from observations of the program from August 2008 to August 2010, from which this research was an active action research participant in the implementation of Project TIPS. These observations include seven project TIPS events, seventeen Project TIPS planning meetings, three

project TIPS subcommittee meetings, as well as personal conversations with project participants and community members at each of these events and meetings. To supplement these observations and conversations structured interviews were conducted with six of the Project TIPS leaders, three which identify with law enforcement, two that identify with community groups, and one which identified with both. Information regarding the TIPS events, planning meetings, and interviews are indicated in the following three tables.

Table 1
Project TIPS Events

Location	Date	Precipitating Event	Number of Homes Surveyed	Attended
Driving Park	Aug 2008	Murder of Latasha Shaw	215	Yes
Dayton St	Feb 2009	Shooting of RPD Officer DiPonzio	105	Yes
Jefferson Ave	Apr 2009	Gen. Urban Decay	140	Yes
Conkey Ave	July 2009	Gen. Urban Decay	148	Yes
Hudson Ave	Oct 2009	Gang Drive-by Murder	133	Yes
Lyell Ave	May 2010	Gen. Urban Decay	166	Yes
Ontario St	June 2010	Gen. Urban Decay	166	Yes

Table 2
Project TIPS Planning Meetings

Type	Date	Agenda	Groups Present	Attended
TIPS Planning	Aug 2008	Create Driving Park TIPS event	CJ and Community	No
TIPS Planning	Sept 2008	Discuss Driving Park TIPS; Planed to continue TIPS	CJ and Community	Yes
Project Exile	Sept 2008	Involve more Criminal Justice Organizations	CJ Org. Only	Yes
TIPS Planning	Jan 2009	Plan Dayton St TIPS	CJ and Community	Yes
Project Exile	Jan 2009	Plan Dayton St TIPS with Exile Board	CJ Org. Only	Yes
TIPS Planning	Mar 2009	Plan Jefferson Ave TIPS	CJ and Community	Yes
Project Exile	Mar 2009	Plan Jefferson Ave TIPS with Exile Board	CJ Org. Only	Yes
TIPS Planning	June 2009	Plan Conkey Ave TIPS	CJ and Community	Yes
Project Exile	June 2009	Plan Conkey Ave TIPS with Exile Board	CJ Org. Only	No
TIPS Planning	Sept 2009	Plan Hudson Ave TIPS	CJ and Community	Yes
Project Exile	Sept 2009	Plan Hudson Ave TIPS with Exile Board	CJ Org. Only	Yes
Subcommittee	Mar 2010	Develop TIPS mission statement	CJ and Community	Yes
Subcommittee	Apr 2010	Identify TIPS stakeholders	CJ and Community	Yes
Subcommittee	Apr 2010	Coordinate with service providers	CJ and Community	Yes
TIPS Planning	Apr 2010	Plan Lyell Ave TIPS	CJ and Community	Yes
Project Exile	Apr 2010	Plan Lyell Ave TIPS with Exile Board	CJ Org. Only	Yes
TIPS Planning	May 2010	Plan Ontario St TIPS	CJ and Community	Yes

Project Exile	May 2010	Plan Ontario St TIPS with Exile Board	CJ Org. Only	Yes
Community	Sept 2010	Relay Community Survey Information	Community Only	Yes

Table 3
Project TIPS Leadership Interviews

Interviewee	Date	Group Affiliation
Confidential 1	Jan 2011	Law Enforcement
Confidential 2	Jan 2011	Law Enforcement
Confidential 3	Jan 2011	Law Enforcement
Confidential 4	Jan 2011	Community
Confidential 5	Jan 2011	Community
Confidential 6	Feb 2011	Both

The following sections will describe the project purpose as observed in Project TIPS planning meetings and in the structured interviews with the project leadership. Following will be a description of how the project selected neighborhoods for events, the time and dates of the events, how the event logistics were organized, how the community was informed about the events, and what took place at each event.

Project Purpose

The purpose of Project TIPS was one thing that differed in the minds of the original TIPS leadership. Among the leaders, the project was created for one of two objectives. These objectives can be placed with relative ease upon Arnstein's (1969) ladder of community involvement in community policing initiatives.

The first section of the leadership were involved in the program with the intention of encouraging the residents that live in troubled neighborhoods in Rochester to provide information to the police. The event was structured to build relationships between police and residents in the hopes that residents would then be more comfortable providing information to the police. The residents in these neighborhoods would then be given an opportunity to learn

about the various services available to them in the hopes that this information might aid in the quality of life of those residents. The surveys were designed to provide an anonymous way for residents to report crimes, as well as a tool to aid public service providers in better understanding the needs of the neighborhood. In this way, this section of the project leadership worked toward Arnstein's (1969) low end of the community involvement ladder, where residents are involved in public safety only in that they are asked to provide information to the police.

The second section of the leadership was involved in the project with the intention of improving the function of the neighborhood as a whole. This leadership had a working knowledge of the underlying concepts of the literature described above regarding communities and crime. This section felt that the project could be used to facilitate the interaction of residents living in Rochester neighborhoods in the hopes that these residents would then take a more active role in producing both informal social control within the neighborhood and coproducing public safety with the police within the neighborhood. At the event, resident interaction would strengthen social networks among residents within the neighborhood and between residents and individuals attending the event that lived external to the neighborhood, thus increasing the social capital access to resources external to the community. The surveys were used not only to gather information about specific crimes but to encourage collective efficacy among residents within the neighborhood about dealing with issues of public safety. These neighborhoods were considered to have reasonable levels of human capital but lacked the social ties to transform that capital into collective action. Because of that, relations with the police would need to be strengthened so that police themselves could aid in the development of social ties in a way similar to the community policing theory outlined by Trojanowicz and Bucqueroux (1990), or the high end of the community policing ladder described by Arnstein (1969).

Selecting a Location

The locations in the community targeted for Project TIPS were selected through discussion of the members of the Project TIPS Partnership described above. There were three primary criteria for selecting a location. Firstly, the locations were high crime areas suffering substantial physical and social disorder. Secondly, the locations were viewed to have one or more community organizations that could be used to secure community volunteers and act as a hub for follow-up after the event. Thirdly, out of convenience, locations were more likely to be selected if they had an area that could facilitate the TIPS event. Generally a parking lot, business, or large playgrounds were preferred. However, if an area was agreed upon by the group as having significant crime and quality of life issues, the group would request that a main through-pass be sectioned off to host the event.

Also factoring into the decision to implement a Project TIPS event in any particular neighborhood was the occurrence of violence that was felt by the Rochester community as a whole, as was the case with the Latasha Shaw murder. The murder of a teenage girl caught between the crossfire of two rival groups and the shooting of an officer from the Rochester Police Department were the catalysts for two of the six Project TIPS events following the Driving Park and Dewey Avenue event.

Time and Date

The event was typically held on a Friday afternoon. A door-to-door survey was conducted from 2pm-5pm and a community cookout with service fair with public service representatives was held from 5pm-7pm. This time, after school hours, was selected by the Project TIPS Partnership in an attempt to maximize the number of young people that might be able to attend the event.

The date of the event was determined based on the schedules of the availability of the volunteers of the various agencies involved. Additionally, school break schedules were considered as the Project TIPS Partnership felt that not as many youth would attend the event during a school break period.

Logistics

Glenn Hoff, Deputy Chief of Operations for the Rochester police Department during Project TIPS, and James McCauley, Director of Operations at Camp Good Days and Special Times, were both instrumental in organizing the logistical operations required for each Project TIPS event. After the TIPS Partnership had agree upon the neighborhood in which the next Project TIPS event would be held, these two individuals would work closely with each other to help select a location within the neighborhood that would serve to be the event headquarters. They would then organize the section of the event that was their specialty. Deputy Chief Hoff helped allocate officers, coordinated with the Neighborhood Service Centers and City Focused Investment Strategy Sites' leaders, and worked with lieutenants and commanders regarding street closures and officer allocations during the event. Mr. McCauley was primarily responsible for organizing with community organizations regarding Project TIPS, reassuring them about any concerns they might have, and then encouraging them to provide volunteers and host a service information table at the event.

Advertising

Mr. McCauley also played a large role in advertising for each of the Project TIPS events. The project primarily relied on a neighborhood flier to advertise the event that was distributed in the neighborhood a week or two prior to the event date. A press conference with several premier news organizations was held one week prior to each event to notify the public about the Project

TIPS. Local Crime Prevention Officers would also try to contact local organizations in the neighborhood to notify neighborhood leaders about the coming of the event.

The Event

Project TIPS used a door-to-door surveying method to obtain information from residents. These surveys asked people to list their likes, concerns, and desires for things to be done within their neighborhood. The surveys then asked the respondents if they had anything specific to report to the police. The survey had two primary functions. The first was to gather information about resident's perceptions of local issues and provide that information to county and city leadership. The second was to encourage residents to report issues of crime to law enforcement. The use of the survey for the latter purpose was to introduce a sense of anonymity into the reporting of criminal activity. It was thought among the project leadership that many residents feared that calling the police to report a crime would require that an officer be dispatched to their residence to validate the report. By surveying every residence on a street, the Project TIPS Partnership hoped to convince residents that they could not and would not be individually identified for retribution.

Groups of three or four volunteers were sent out to administer the survey to the neighborhood. Each group was accompanied by one law enforcement officer. This was designed to facilitate interaction between police officers and community residents, and provide safety for the volunteer group as they traversed some of the more violent neighborhoods in Rochester.

At the time residents completed the survey they were also given an 11" by 16" flier with contact information for various public service agencies, local churches, as well as information about Rochester's Project Exile, a local anti-firearm initiative.

During the surveys, the volunteers were directed to tell residents that the community cookout and service fair would start at 5pm at a central location in the neighborhood. The event remained relatively unchanged through the implementation of the various Project TIPS events as it was for the first event. Every event served free food, drink, and gave away free items to residents. Community organizations and public service agencies were all given tables at which they could set up information for residents. Residents attending would be given the opportunity to interact with one another as well as with police and public service providers.

The Reality of Project TIPS

The description above should be considered only as a blueprint for Project TIPS. In reality, the implementation of the project deviated from this blueprint fairly often. This is not only a byproduct of the lack of conformity among the project leaders as to the purpose of the project, but also from other unanticipated issues.

To begin, neighborhood boundaries were not established in any systematic way. The neighborhoods surveyed by the project often emanated from a central location of a popularized crime. The only mechanism for identifying the boundaries of a target community came through discussions with lifelong Rochester residents involved in the partnership. Pressure to survey as many streets as possible at an event led to the inclusion of streets external to many neighborhoods. For example, the streets in one area were isolated from the target neighborhood by a major road which many of the neighborhood leaders in the area believed marked the border of the community. However, these same conversations with community leaders indicate that the majority of the areas surveyed were a part of each target community. At least, these conversations suggest that the success rate for including residents in the survey process was similar to that of the census tract standard set by Sampson and Groves in 1989.

Project TIPS also struggled to identify a large number of the active community organizations and associations within each of the target communities. To start, the only mechanism for identifying these groups came from the same discussants in the partnership that helped identify the boundaries of the target communities. The inability to identify important active organizations led to conflict at one TIPS event when a few organizations that were not identified felt threatened by the presence of another initiative in the area. As the project advanced into 2010, it had intended to build two mechanisms to better identify community organizations. First, it enlisted the help of a local academic familiar with community organizations in Rochester. Second, it intended to work more closely with the decentralized city government resource centers, or Neighborhood Service Centers, of which there are four in Rochester. The partnership planned on using the directors of each of these service centers to contact the organizations that the centers had already identified through partnerships in previous years.

Third, there was not a systematic approach to inviting service representatives from the city, county, and local not-for-profit organizations. No tool was used to evaluate a community for need, from which to identify service providers to invite to the neighborhood. The process involved was more geared towards inviting any organization that the partnership could think of that was willing to participate.

Fourth, few residents outside of those that participated in community organizations stated that they knew that Project TIPS was hosting an event in their neighborhood. Furthermore, few residents stated that they knew about any Project TIPS event that had taken place in other areas of the city. This issue, as well as the ability to identify neighborhood boundaries, identify neighborhood organizations, and evaluate the needs of a neighborhood, is one primarily of time.

The time frame for a handful of individuals to plan the logistics for an entire event was simply too short to adequately accomplish each of these tasks.

Next, the roles of police officers were often not defined for them. This led to two issues of confusion at the TIPS events. First, the survey groups didn't know who should conduct the survey and interact with residents. This led to inconsistencies in the administration of the surveys. In some groups the officers would conduct the surveys and interact with residents, and in others the officers would remain at distance and allow the volunteers of the group to interact with residents. Second, officers were not provided with specific instructions as to how they should interact with community members. This led, in part, to what many Project TIPS partners described as "clustering" at the events. Groups of several officers and groups of community residents would be seen standing separate from each other, interacting minimally. Ranking officers with the law enforcement organizations involved were observed to interact with residents more frequently. As the program advanced, an attempt was made by the senior leadership at the Rochester Police Department to invite officers who interacted well with residents to be at the event. These officers often times were Rochester's Crime Prevention Officers, or CPO's. Rochester's CPO's perform the middle rung of Arnstein's (1969) involvement in public affairs function. CPO's attend community meetings, hold monthly district meeting with community members, and work to conduct nuisance abatement function in the city. These abatement functions are similar to the quality of life policing functions described by Skogan (2000) in Chicago's CAPS program.

Sixth, the program didn't create a mechanism to accommodate Spanish speaking residents, of which there were many in the neighborhoods visited by Project TIPS, in either the event or the neighborhood survey. No mechanism was put in place to advertise in Spanish, or to

invite bilingual officers to the events to interact with Spanish speaking residents. As the project advanced, a Spanish translation of the neighborhood survey was printed on the reverse of the original survey handed out to the volunteer groups. However, English speaking only officers and residents struggled to approach Spanish speaking households and begin a conversation which would lead to the completion of the Spanish translation survey. Because of this, the Spanish translation copy was discontinued. In addition to the issues concerning Spanish speaking residents, the timing of the survey likely created an issue with capturing a large segment of the community population. As the survey was conducted between 2 and 4 O'clock, it failed to capture those residents with traditional nine-to-five employment.

Finally, and arguably the most important, at the start of Project TIPS through the summer of 2010, no mechanisms were put in place to determine if the project was working. This may in part come as a byproduct of the lack of conformity among project leaders with what the program was intended to accomplish to start.

Chapter Six: Developing an Analytical Framework for Project TIPS

Project TIPS will continue into the year 2011 with four additional neighborhood events, and there is no indication that 2012 will mark the end of the program. It is because of this, as well as to further our understanding of community policing in America, that it is so important to develop a working framework from which to better understand and analyze community policing programs.

Was the project successful? Without a clear theory of how the program was intended to work in the first place, this is a difficult question to answer. Because of this dilemma, a framework for analyzing productive community policing programs will be drawn from previous examples of programs and community policing theory which will then be placed against the structure of Project TIPS. Because both of the intended project purposes that were identified through observations and interviews fit upon Arnstein's (1969) ladder of community involvement in public safety, this framework should work with reasonable success at analyzing Project TIPS. This approach should help to determine the effectiveness of the project regardless of its lack of original theoretical framework.

The literature suggests that there are two necessary components that lead to the success of community policing programs. The first regards the inclusion and understanding of the factors that characterize strong, functioning neighborhoods. The second is an understanding of the factors that diminish the effectiveness of government and policing led community initiatives.

The factors that characterize strong neighborhoods, found in Table 4 below, are derived in large part from the same understanding that led Warren to formulate his framework on community functions in 1963 and stem from literature in the urban political sociology, community organizing, and neighborhood social movement fields (Duffee et al, 2001; Logan and

Molotch, 1987; Lipsky, 1980; Rabrenovic, 1996; Wycoff and Skogan, 1985; Trojanowicz, 1986). Communities that develop these factors organically have reasonable success at maintaining public safety within their communities. However, as the Chicago school observed in the early part of the twentieth century, not all communities are able to develop these factors organically. Warren (1963) described these issues as the manifestation of the “community problem.” What should be encouraging for these communities is that literature on community policing and government organized community building programs suggest that these factors can be stimulated or manifested with the aid of police or government organizations.

These factors are: (1) strong social networks among residents that live within a neighborhood (Sampson and Groves, 1989; Duffee et al., 2001) (2) social networks that range beyond those among residents, connecting residents within a neighborhood to resources external to the neighborhood (Duffee et al., 2001); (3) high rates of residential participation in community wide activities, in particular structured community organizations (Sampson and Groves, 1989); (4) a shared sense of cultural identity and unity among community residents or (5) shared understanding and tolerance for diversity in cultural identity within a community in the absence of absolute cultural solidarity (Duffee et al., 2001); (6) mechanisms for settling disputes of conflicts within a community that may arise (Duffee et al., 2001); (7) reciprocated exchange of social capital among community members the both comes as a result of strong social networks and strengthens those networks as it further develops trust and cohesiveness in a community (Coleman, 1988; Scott, 2002) (8) autonomy of decision making within a community, or “how much does the community control decisions that affect it?” (Duffee et al., 2001; (9) in the absence of absolute autonomy in such decision making, the community maintains some level of shared decision making with external forces (i.e. the police or city government) (Duffee et al.,

2001); (10) the community maintains mechanisms for internal coordination among community leaders and residents, an example of a coordination mechanism may be an annual parent-teacher association meeting to plan the next year's educational goals and delegate tasks to parents and teachers (Duffee et al., 2001); and (11) the community maintains mechanisms for mobilizing these same leaders and residents, much like the same PTA organizing a door-by-door flier to encourage community members to participate in a "box-top" drive to secure funding and supplies for the following year (Duffee et al., 2001).

Table 4
Factors that Characterize Strong Neighborhoods

Factor	Source
Strong Social Networks Among Neighborhood Residents	Sampson and Groves, 1989; Trojanowicz, 1986
Links to Resources External to the Neighborhood	Wycoff and Skogan, 1993
High Rates of Participation in Community Organizations	Sampson and Groves, 1989
Shared Sense of Cultural Identity or: Shared Understanding and Tolerance for Diversity in Cultural Identity within the Neighborhood	Duffee et al., 2001
Mechanisms for Settling Disputes or Conflicts within the Neighborhood	Duffee et al., 2001
Reciprocated Exchange of Social Capital	Coleman, 1988; Scott, 2002
Autonomy of Decisions that Affect the Neighborhood or: Shared Decision Making of Actions that Affect the Neighborhood	Duffee et al., 2001
Mechanisms for Internal Coordination in a Neighborhood	Wycoff and Skogan, 1985
Mechanisms for Mobilizing Residents with the Neighborhood	Duffee et al., 2001

Attempting to stimulate or create these factors within communities can be difficult for police or government organized initiatives. As Skogan (1996), Stoutland (2001), and Grinc (1994) argue, historical factors and the social distance between community members and police representatives associated with the shift toward the professional era of policing combine to limit the success of many community policing programs. These additional factors are organized in Table 5 below.

The first issue is that of community disenfranchisement regarding the reliability and fidelity of policing and government community oriented programs. Skogan (1996) states that over the last half century many urban neighborhoods have been promised numerous services by government and police organized efforts, only to watch as year after year these programs come and go as funding dries up or is reallocated. Furthermore, community members have become to question the ability of such programs to follow through with goals such as fixing schools, restoring housing stock, and eliminating drug use. In essence, a history riddled with broken promises has led many needy urban neighborhoods to question if the “next best thing” in community policing programs will be any different.

The second issue stems from the history of policing in many neighborhoods. In some areas, including those predominantly-minority urban neighborhoods that are socially disorganized, this history is wrought with strife and conflict. As Skogan (1996) argues, many of the residents who live in urban neighborhoods, particularly minority residents, have experienced abuse from police officers first hand or have lived these experiences vicariously through friends or family members. While police conduct has changed dramatically since the 1960’s, the memories of that abuse has stayed with victims and been passed on to children and grandchildren. Incidents regarding police abuse, or even perceptions of abuse, bring these memories back and further taint community-police relationships.

Stoutland (2001) argues that one of the primary issues facing police-community relations is that of respect. She argues that when community residents perceive that they are being treated with respect from police, their satisfaction with police increases. Scott (2009) argues that as this satisfaction increases, community members are more likely to work with the police. Inversely,

perceptions of disrespect from police degrade the relationships between the police and the community.

Stoutland (2001) also argues that resident satisfaction in police increases when police hold common priorities with community members. This creates a tie between the two parties and allows the community to feel as though the police are working *with* them as opposed to working *over* them. However, this situation of shared priorities does not often manifest itself when officers do not live in the same neighborhoods that they police.

The preceding four issues are all compounded by the social isolation characterizing police-community relations in the professional and, to a somewhat lesser degree, the community policing eras. As Scott (2009) states, during the political era, police were often of a similar race, ethnic background, socio-economic status, and culture as those in the neighborhood they policed. This is not the case in the professional and community policing era's. Often times the officers that police urban neighborhoods are more likely than not to be of a different race, a different cultural affinity, and live in different neighborhoods than the residents they police. This cultural distance leads to misunderstandings in communication and perceptions of disrespect from both the police and residents while straining the ability of the two parties to work together productively in partnerships. It also puts police on a different plane in the realm of policy priorities, further straining relations.

Lastly, one basic issue facing partnerships with the community is that the formal organizations leading them, police or any other formal organization, often fail to adequately describe to community members, individuals and groups alike, what their role in public safety is. This is in large part because many joint programs that involve the community, like Project TIPS,

fails to adhere to a strong theoretical framework from which to allocate roles to the partners involved.

Table 5
Elements that Hamper Government or Policing Led Community Initiatives

Element	Source
Lack of Program Fidelity and Reliability	Skogan, 1996
Historical Inertia	Skogan, 1996
Disrespect	Stoutland, 2001
Social Isolation	Scott, 2009; Skogan, 1996
Conflicting Priorities	Skogan, 1996
Ambiguity of Roles	Skogan, 1996

Chapter Seven: Analyzing Project TIPS

This framework offers additional value for many community policing programs that, like Project TIPS, fail to structure mechanisms to evaluate their own effectiveness. This framework allows for an observer with intimate knowledge of a program to discuss the mechanisms of the program and determine if they are created in ways that accounts for the seventeen variables discussed above that characterize strong communities and affect government or policing led community initiatives. It also allows observers to gauge the strength and duration of those mechanisms. Finally, this framework lends itself to facilitating a discussion toward policy recommendations for community oriented programs.

The following section will apply the framework discussed above to the structure of Project TIPS. It will begin with a discussion of the variables that characterize strong communities and those mechanisms of Project TIPS that facilitate these variables, the strength of those mechanisms, and then a discussion of possible mechanisms that the Project could use to fill in holes in the framework. Next, the mechanisms inherent in Project TIPS that mitigate the factors that hamper government and policing organized community initiatives will be described, as will their strength and duration, followed by an outline of mechanisms that Project TIPS could implement to further mitigate these factors. Last, a discussion of the overall effectiveness of Project TIPS, including a discussion of the potential of the program to adequately fit the framework in its entirety, will follow.

Factors that Characterize Strong Communities

1. Strong Social Networks among Neighborhood Residents

Communities with strong social networks are able to reciprocate social capital with one another in the community. Residents are able to more easily develop common values and norms in the community, establishing standard codes of conduct from which to hold each other accountable. Residents are able to develop a sense of mutual trust and cohesiveness with one another, which allows them to work together and develop a sense of collective efficacy in the community.

Though not every Project TIPS Partnership leader agreed about the purpose of the community cookout, it nevertheless allowed community residents to interact. These interactions arguably took place with higher frequency than they may have without police presence. Some residents and neighborhood leaders at the cookouts argued that they and others in the neighborhoods often feared to leave their house because young people, who they perceived to be trouble makers, were outside. However, Project TIPS did little to sustain the relationships that might have been created at the cookouts. Mechanisms were not put in place to incentivize or encourage residents to interact with their fellow neighborhood residents after Project TIPS left their neighborhood. With this lack of mechanisms to facilitate interaction it is unlikely that the cookout itself, which lasts only three hours, is of a duration that would help form the bonds needed to create dense social networks. The absence of these networks erodes collective efficacy in neighborhoods, and reduces the propensity of neighbors to reciprocate social capital throughout the neighborhood.

2. Links to Resources External to the Neighborhood

Access to resources external to a neighborhood helps a community overcome some of the larger forces that Warren (1963) argues leads to malfunctioning communities. A link to city council members, for example, may allow a community to procure funding for ailing schools or

business development. Links to police department personnel might help a community re-allocate police officers into their community for the purposes of public safety.

For Project TIPS to be successful in this area, it must create mechanisms that develop links between members of the stressed communities that Project TIPS visits and individuals and groups that manage resources for the city, county, or state as a whole but who typically do not live or interact with the communities. Currently, the only mechanism that Project TIPS maintains is the community cookout. Residents are given the opportunity to interact with the leaders of many of the important criminal justice organizations, as well as city council members and state representatives who come to the events. The primary linkage to external resources that Project TIPS provides is that to citywide public service agencies. Project TIPS provides contact information to these agencies to community members, and then provides residents with the opportunity to interact with these providers. The limitation afforded Project TIPS however is that the attendance of these external service providers at the events is poor. Never has Project TIPS had representatives to share or gather information from the department of social services, department of public health, or department of information services.

It is unknown the extent to which these links are created during the cookout. However, it is known that no other mechanisms are in place to sustain these relations after the event ends. Efforts, for example, were not made to link active community organizations with city council members or criminal justice organization leaders for partnerships. Additionally, Project TIPS was unsuccessful in coordinating with business leaders and school leaders at the events. Combined, these two groups, in addition to criminal justice agencies, perform three of the five primary community functions outlined by Warren (1963) and should not be ignored.

3. High Rates of Participation in Community Organizations

Collective efficacy is best exemplified by resident participation in local grassroots community organizations. Not only do these organizations facilitate social interactions in the neighborhood, and all of the benefits provided via that interaction described above, but by participating and accomplishing goals as a part of them, collective efficacy is also developed. These organizations are also important because they are able to affect control upon other social units within a community.

Starting at the Ontario Street Project TIPS, the last to be considered in this analysis, the project has begun to provide community members with meeting times of the primary community organization in the community visited by Project TIPS that the Project TIPS leadership could identify. These times, with the contact information of the organization's leaders, were provided to the community during the door-to-door community survey. Residents are also provided the opportunity to interact with organization leaders at the cookout. However, as Project TIPS has struggled to identify community boundaries and many of the community groups in several of the neighborhoods visited, much can still be done to increase the organizational participation of residents in the neighborhoods visited by Project TIPS.

4. Shared Sense of Cultural Identity or Shared Understanding and Tolerance for Cultural Diversity in the Community

Cultural identity in a neighborhood helps bolster the neighborhood resident's feelings of trust and cohesion, thus increasing collective efficacy in the neighborhood. However, not every community has a uniform cultural identity. This is an issue for the social relations among residents in many of Rochester's struggling neighborhoods. As discussed in chapter three, these neighborhoods are vastly more diverse than many other neighborhoods in New York State. With this diversity comes conflict. As Duffee et al. (2000) argues, communities that don't share a

unified sense of cultural identity require mechanisms to abate any infighting that may occur in communities. These mechanisms must help community members develop tolerance and understanding for different cultures and values. The simplest of these mechanisms might be meetings that facilitate interaction between diverse sections of a community.

Currently, Project TIPS does little to bridge the gap between residents of different cultures in the communities that it visits. The only mechanism to reach out to the large Latino populations that live in many Rochester neighborhoods to involve them in Project TIPS was a Spanish translation version of the community survey. However, this approach was met with limited success as few of the officers or volunteer residents that conducted the surveys were able to communicate with Spanish speaking residents to encourage them to complete the survey. Additionally, officers were not purposefully selected for participation that were bilingual. Overall, Project TIPS failed to account for differences in cultural identity in the communities that they visited, nor did they seek to create a strong sense of community identity in any of those neighborhoods.

5. Mechanisms for Dispute Resolution

As argued above, disputes and conflict take place in communities that lack a strong and uniform cultural identity. Disputes also arise as a result of other issues as well. Differences in values or community priorities among individuals and groups in a community can all boil over into conflict that can erode social networks and collective efficacy in a community. An example would be two local community organizations fighting for the same grant funding. A mechanism to resolve the dispute might consist of a debate process followed by a community wide vote. In the end the best proposal would be selected or the groups could decide to work together to pool resources and increase the chances of the community receiving the grant.

Currently, Project TIPS does little to act as a facilitator of dispute resolution, strengthen existing community mechanisms for resolutions, or develop new approaches for dispute resolution. One example of disputes that occur in Rochester's communities comes from the north-east quadrant of Rochester. Project TIPS has conducted three events in northeast neighborhoods but failed to address the conflict between community organizations in the area that destabilize the efficacy of the neighborhoods there. Notably, the 14621 Neighborhood Association and Ibero-American Development Corporation, both of which are active local community organizations in the north-east of Rochester, fight for grant funding. The lack of cooperation between the groups has reduced the capacity for internal coordination and mobilization in the north-east neighborhoods. For project TIPS to be successful it should work to identify processes that act to resolve disputes. Police might be the best mediators for community group disputes. Or city council might be called upon to arbitrate a dispute like the one detailed above.

6. Reciprocated Exchange of Social Capital

As argued above, reciprocations of social capital strengthen communities' social networks and the collective efficacy of communities. However, as Coleman (1988) argues, social capital might simply be described as the access to human and physical capital through strong social bonds. In the absence of this human and physical capital, social capital can do little.

By providing information about services available to community residents, both through the flier provided during the community surveys and the various services tables set up at the community cookout, Project TIPS helps to build human capital (knowledge) and physical capital (financial resources) throughout the communities that it visits. However, this effect may be

minimal. Interviews with community residents suggest that much of the information provided to the community by Project TIPS may in large part already be known to the community. The survey and flier approach is also hampered by the presence of many Spanish speaking only residents in many of the neighborhoods visited by Project TIPS. For project TIPS to be successful it must adequately address these concerns.

Project TIPS must also consider that the development of human and physical capital in the communities it visits would aid in the development of reciprocated social capital. Two social units, business and schools, could be used to help develop this capital within these neighborhoods.

7. Autonomy of Decisions that Affect the Neighborhood:

Or Shared Decision Making of Actions that Affect the Neighborhood

Warren (1963) argues that social units external to a community can play a large part in affecting the functions of a community. However, Duffee et al. (2000) argue that strong communities maintain the ability to influence, or even control, the decisions that affect the community. In urban centers specifically, neighborhoods are co-reliant upon each other for access to food, entertainment, or other resources. The strength of some of these neighborhoods comes from their ability to control and affect the decisions of other social units upon which they are reliant.

The one area that a community policing program may be able to address this is to create a setting where communities and police can co-develop policing priorities in a neighborhood. Currently this is something that does not take place with Project TIPS. The police department has been consistent in its ambivalence to the information provided via the door-to-door survey function of Project TIPS. One of the questions in the surveys asks community members to list

things that they would like to see done in their neighborhoods. Data collected from the surveys shows that community members report that they desire the removal of quality of life issues more so than the policing of criminal activity. For example, residents report that they want abandoned buildings torn down, speeding reduced, and sidewalks repaired, more so than they want drugs, gangs, and violence removed from their neighborhoods. Table 6 and table 7 below show a delineation of the most recent Project TIPS event held in the Ontario and Scio neighborhood. It can be seen that more residents requested that housing stock be repaired and vacant lots be maintained than requested reductions in drugs, gangs, violence, prostitution, theft, and other types of crime *combined*. Even when including requests for more police officers and cameras, requests for housing and lot maintenance still outnumbered requests for all policing services combined.

Table 6
Requests from the Ontario Scio Neighborhood (Policing Issues)

Requests	Number that Reported Request
Reduce Drugs	16
More police	15
Cameras	3
Reduce Gangs	2
Reduce Violence	2
Reduce Prostitution	2
Reduce Theft	1
Decrease Crime Generally	1
Total	42

Table 7
Requests from the Ontario Scio Neighborhood (QOL Issues)

Requests	Number that Reported Request
Housing/Vacant Lots Maintenance Issues	54
Clean up Area	20
Reduce Traffic and Speeding	11
Recreational Activities for Youth	11
Clean up Garbage on Streets	9
Build Community	5

Street Lights	5
Garden/Park	5
Community Watch	4
Increase Safety	2
Make People more Respectful	1
More Parental Involvement	1
Total	128

These service requests mirrors Chicago's experience with project CAPS. However, unlike CAPS, Project TIPS has made little effort to address these quality of life issues. To date, the Market view Heights Collective Action Team, one of the most active and influential organizations in the Ontario and Scio Neighborhood, has no record that any of the service requests being followed through with.

One of the simplest approaches to deal with this issue would be strengthening the involvement of Rochester's Crime Prevention Officers, who deal with nuisance abatement as a part of their daily function in the police department, in Project TIPS. Project TIPS could also implement a more systematic approach for ensuring that city- and county-wide service providers follow through with requests than simply relaying the information provided by the community surveys to service providers in Rochester and Monroe County. This would help the communities visited by Project TIPS maintain some level of influence over the provision of services, both policing and from other government sources, in their areas.

Beyond Warren's (1963) function of social control, the communities that Project TIPS visits struggle in influencing decisions that affect other functions as well. Most notably, that of production-supply-consumption, or the economy of the community. As discussed earlier in this research, many of the neighborhoods in question suffer from low participation of their residents in the workforce and low income, stemming in part from low paying, inconsistent, or irregular types of income. For the communities to gain influence of the decisions that affect the

employability of their members and the availability of work in their communities Project TIPS could work to strengthen the ties between leaders in the business community, leaders from the school district, and the leaders and organizations that coordinate the social functions of the communities in question.

8. Mechanisms for Internal Coordination in a Neighborhood

Healthy communities maintain mechanism for coordinating leaders and organizations within the community. One of the primary outlets for this function is community meetings. Community organizations that meet on a regular basis are able to coordinate with members of the community to set future goals for the community, plan to acquire funding for the future, and so on. Additionally, if social networks are dense enough in a community, several groups can coordinate via these meetings.

Community policing programs can be successful at developing internal coordination if they are able to (a) encourage community groups to coordinate more frequently, (b) be more productive when they coordinate, or (c) involve multiple organizations within a community when coordinating. In essence, the police can, as Scott (2002) argues, act as a mechanism for coordination in communities. Project TIPS does none of these things. However, the infrastructure to do so exists. Rochester maintains monthly Police-Community Interaction Project, PCIP, meetings with local neighborhood residents. Project TIPS could develop a mechanism beyond the current single-day event that it maintains to tie together the community survey information, the PCIP meetings, and the community meetings attended by the Crime Prevention Officers in the communities that it visits to strengthen the coordination that takes place there. Project TIPS may even become integrated into the daily function of the police, specifically the Crime Prevention Officers, providing an avenue for the police to learn about the

issues and desires of a community as well as their informal leadership structures. This knowledge would help the police act to integrate community leaders, residents, community organizations, and current police-community partnerships within a neighborhood.

9. Mechanisms for Mobilizing Residents with the Neighborhood

Similar to mechanisms of coordination, strong communities require mechanisms for mobilizing residents in order to function well. Community leaders can develop concise plans to achieve community goals but in order to implement those goals and plans successfully, communities require help from everyday residents. Whether it be boycotting a particular gas station in a neighborhood to drive down prices, petitioning for a new vacant-lot park, or performing a phone drive to direct the attention of government representatives to a particular community issue, community leaders need the support of a tremendous number of community members to be successful. That is why communities need mechanisms for mobilizing residents in order to function properly.

Currently, Project TIPS does little to facilitate the mobilization of residents. The community cookout serves to connect residents with the local community organizations that are present, but much of this interaction is left to the discretion of the organizations and the community members. An additional compounding issue is the relatively few community groups who are identified in each neighborhood. On average, only one or two local community groups are identified and invited to the event in an area of about ten to twelve residential city blocks. Beyond this shortcoming, mobilization is only strengthened in that internal local community groups are able to distribute information regarding goals and plans for the community to more residents. For TIPS to be successful in this function, it should work to further connect residents and local neighborhood community organizations in a systematic way, for example by

distributing information to community residents regarding community meeting times and group-leaders contact information. Furthermore, Project TIPS should consider that it needs to expand its current single-day cook-out to include other mechanisms that strengthen community groups' capacity to mobilize residents around locally relevant issues.

Factors that Hamper Government and Police led Community Initiatives

1. Lack of Program Fidelity and Reliability

Project TIPS has done a reasonable job both maintaining fidelity to the original program and remaining reliable to Rochester communities as it has maintained the same basic structure since it was created and will begin to return to communities it has visited in the summer of 2011. However, fidelity in this case means adherence to a muddled theory of how the project is supposed to work, leaving some in the project leadership to state that “if all this project does is keep open air drug markets away from the neighborhood for one day, it’s successful.” Project TIPS has also struggled terribly in following through with resident requests gathered from the neighborhood surveys. Project TIPS makes no direct attempt to address any of the issues that arise from the surveys. A report of the survey is simply provided to service organization leaders in the hopes that they might work to address any issues raised.

This approach threatens to paint Project TIPS the same as the programs that preceded it. As Skogan (1996) argues, residents who have seen programs promise services and fail to follow through tend to become disenfranchised with programs run by government agencies. This disenfranchisement erodes the capacity of Project TIPS to develop collective efficacy in Rochester communities. To combat this issue, Project TIPS must start to follow through with community requests for services.

2. History of Abuse and Conflict Between Government and Neighborhood Residents

Skogan (1996) argues that many community members, particularly those in urban areas who are also minorities, struggle working with police organizations because of a history of poor relations. This history is very much real, and many of the older residents in urban areas lived through some of the worst times in the history of community-police relations in the 1950's and 60's. These stories have been passed on through generations and the stereotypes they created for police officers everywhere resurface every time an officer is perceived to be disrespectful, abusive, or callous.

Project TIPS leadership argues that by offering community members a five hour window to interact with police “in a positive light” that they can overcome this history of abuse and conflict. However, this duration is not likely going to have much effect on the deeply ingrained sentiments that many community members hold toward police. What makes this duration even more ineffective is the extent to which community members and police interact during it. In their interviews, the community leaders and Project TIPS leaders observed a trend in the interactions between community members and police officers at the Project TIPS events, one that was supported by personal observations of the seven Project TIPS events. Many of the officers were observed to be clustering or grouping with one another at the cookout, away from the masses of community members in attendance. Interaction did take place, but it was primarily between community members and Crime Prevention Officers or police command staff. The interactions between community members and the police officers that those residents might see on a daily bases, non-ranking officers in the Rochester Police Department, was minimal over the course of the seven events through summer of 2010.

For Project TIPS to overcome the stigma placed on police officers, it must work to facilitate interactions between community members and beat police officers. Mechanisms such as one offered at one TIPS planning meeting to force community members to have several police officers sign a paper before they were given food might be productive at coercing this interaction. However, this coercion may create further problems, considering the current state of relations between police and community residents described by Skogan (1996), as it may feed further into the community's perception of the power imbalance that many community members feel currently characterizes police-community relations. Perhaps a more practical approach might be to reverse the suggestion and incentivize officers to interact with community residents at the events, by having them act as greeters at the food line or other activities at the events.

3. Claims of Lack of Respect Between Police and Neighborhood Residents

Work by Stoutland (2001) shows that community members are more satisfied with police when they feel respected by them, and as Scott (2009) argues community members are more likely to work with police in partnerships to co-produce public safety if they are satisfied with the police. Work by Skogan (2002) also suggests that officers are unlikely to work with community members when they feel disrespected by community members. However, Project TIPS maintains a greater capacity to alter the behavior of police officers than it does community members.

Several community members at Project TIPS events stated that community-police relations in Rochester were poor. Regardless of the degree to which these relations are poor, steps can always be taken to improve them. Work by Teen Empowerment involving input from both local Rochester youth and ten-twelve Rochester Police Department officers has highlighted perceptions of disrespect between community members and police officers as an issue that

threatens relations locally. Therefore, Project TIPS should work to mitigate the perception of disrespectful behavior in community-police to overcome this barrier to working with communities, focusing on officer behavior as it is there where it maintains the greatest control. Training of any kind geared toward helping law enforcement officers understand community perceptions is something that Project TIPS doesn't currently engage in.

This is a topic that is currently being tackled by a community organization in Rochester call Teen Empowerment. This group has organized several focus groups between youth and police officers to conduct candid discussions about issues of community-police relations, including a thorough discussion of respect between the two groups. To climb the hurdle of poor community-police relations, Project TIPS might collaborate with Teen Empowerment to develop a set of guidelines for officers to follow to ensure that they are not perceived to be disrespectful by Rochester's community members. Police officers would be given a short seminar to go over easily avoided pitfalls in community relations.

4. Social Isolation between Police and many Urban Community Residents

The preceding two factors are further exacerbated by the social isolation that Scott (2009) argues has characterized the professional and, to a large degree, the community policing eras. Supporting this argument, the same project organized by Teen Empowerment to investigate community-police relations found that approximately 70% of all Rochester Police Department patrol officers did not live in the city boundaries of Rochester in 2009. Considering that the police department maintains a system of two city halves for organized patrol, compared to localized community beats seen in the CAPS program in Chicago, it is rare for police officers in Rochester to work within the same neighborhood that they live. Additionally, officers are unlikely to be of a similar race, ethnicity, or socio-economic background as the residents in the

communities that they police, another point consistent with the argument by Scott. This social isolation leads to many of the same issues of communication and differences in values wrought by a lack of cultural identity *within* a neighborhood, and serves as an example of Warren's (1963) discussion of social units external to a community influencing the functions of that community.

It is easy to understand why both police and residents claim disrespect considering this cultural rift. It is likely that neither group maintains the same standard for "respect", which is a highly subjective concept. It is easier still to see why the stories of abuse in times past continues to perpetuate themselves through generations considering that there are few organic mechanisms, such as casual neighborly conversation between off-duty police officer and community residents, to show residents that times have changed to a large degree, or to dispel any myths that might have arisen or been taken out of context over the past half century. In the absence of these organic mechanisms, Project TIPS must create mechanisms to facilitate positive interaction between police and community members, which it has done. However, a five hour event with minimal interaction does little to overcome both the history of poor relations with the police *and* the current social isolation that exists between the groups.

5. Differences in Policy Priorities

Skogan (1996) maintains that one issues that leads many community members to back out of potential partnerships with the police is a perception that police have different goals than the community for any such partnership. This stems in large part from the assumption that community residents desire only reduction in index crimes. However, as discovered in Chicago with CAPS and via the community surveys in Project TIPS shown in Table 6 and Table 7, the community desires a vast array of services, not all of them directly related to traditional policing

services. As Skogan et al. (2002) states, community members who feel that they are not being listened to have no incentive to participate in partnerships with the police. The difference between Rochester's Project TIPS and the Chicago Alternative Policing Strategy is that Chicago adjusted the services provided to account for the newly discovered demand.

Currently, this is something that does not take place with Project TIPS. Beyond relaying information to agency leaders, Project TIPS makes little effort to show the community that it is on the same page in regards to community priorities. As shown in Table 6 and Table 7, substantial requests for community improvements in the Ontario and Scio neighborhood, over 150, have not resulted in any additional services in the neighborhood. Project TIPS would benefit greatly from showing the community that it listens and agrees that some of the services they requested are important. Project TIPS could start by petitioning for a few of these services for the communities that it visits. Project TIPS would gain a significant amount of legitimacy in the eyes of the community by following through with these requests.

6. Ambiguity in the Neighborhood's Role (and the Role for Police)

Skogan (1996) argues that many poor community policing programs struggle in developing a role for community members in police-community partnerships and then informing the community what that role is. Project TIPS is no different. Exposed during the six structured interviews and three years of planning meetings, it became apparent that Project TIPS leadership disagreed if community members should only responsible for reporting crimes, the eyes and ears function, or if they were responsible for developing mechanisms for informal social control within neighborhoods, such as a participating in a neighborhood watch or other community developed initiative. Primarily, community leaders that were a part of the Project TIPS Leadership tended to push for mechanisms during planning meetings that would develop

capacity in Rochester neighborhoods. Contrary to this, leaders from law enforcement or other criminal justice organizations tended to view community residents as reporters of crime only.

Project TIPS leadership should work together to agree upon a consistent role for community members. They should also take into account that the five issues that hamper policing and government led programs discussed above suggest that individual community members will likely not be receptive to acting as the eyes and ears of the police department. Project TIPS will have far more success encouraging community members to work with local community organizations, and then *work with community members through those organizations*, many of which the police department has already established partnerships and legitimacy through the Crime Prevention Officers and PCIP meetings.

The second issue, ambiguity in police role, is a structural issue in Project TIPS. Through conversations with law enforcement personnel at the events this research discovered that the officers involved in Project TIPS had little understanding of the purpose of the project, including what their role at the events was. These conversations also indicated that at least some of the officers were not briefed in detail before the event in what the event was, or what their role is. It is possible that other officers with whom I was not able to speak with received such a detailed briefing, however, if the majority of officers attending these events are not briefed beforehand, they should be. This briefing would help command staff inform officers what their role in the event is, i.e. conversing and forming positive relations with community members. It would also help to persuade the officers of the importance that such interactions play in reversing stereotypes and mitigating the effects of social isolation.

Chapter Eight: Conclusions

The better question than “What, if anything, can police and city government do to stimulate participation from these neighborhoods?”, might better be “can issues regarding the ability of government and policing initiatives be addressed so that neighborhoods characterized by social decay may be willing to work with city government?” and then, “What can city government do to address the issues of social decay in crime ridden urban neighborhoods *so that communities may be* stimulated into participation in issues of public safety?”

Sadly, the answer may not be Project TIPS. There are two issues at work that erode the potential of Project TIPS. The first is the stigma that communities associate with government and policing led community initiatives. The second is a myriad of larger forces in the greater Rochester community including: a dearth of adequately paying jobs in many Rochester communities; a larger number of renters, a proxy for high rates of residential mobility in many neighborhoods that tears apart social networks and prevents other from ever being formed; lack of community schools from which to organically develop cultural unity in neighborhoods; significant cultural diversity and language barriers and that typify Rochester neighborhoods; and a combination of ineffective schools and a significant imbalance in age distributions in many neighborhoods which both jeopardize socialization of positive values and the employability of neighborhood youth. Not to be left out is the structure of the police department’s officer allocation, the lack of permanent neighborhoods police beats, and social isolation that characterizes police-community relations. Considering these issues, Warren’s (1963) quote, “many of the problems which are confronted at the community level simply are not solvable at that level at all, but are problems of the larger society of which the community is a part”, appears to remain insightful forty-eight years later (pg. 15).

Despite these challenges, as Skogan (1996) and Duffee et al. (2000) both argue of community policing programs, Project TIPS can make alterations to mitigate some, though certainly not all, of the issues characterizing malfunctions in Rochester neighborhoods in an effort to improve public safety. However, such changes constitute a significant change in both policing function, and service provision function, similar to the CAPS program in Chicago. These changes simply aren't practical in every police department and city, and the costs that they incur may not be outweighed by the benefits they accrue.

Policy Recommendations

- **Refocus Project Goals Toward a Sound Theory of Community Functions**

The primary tension among the Project TIPS leadership surrounded the purpose of the program. As discussed previous, one faction of the project leadership saw the program as a way to encourage residents to report crimes to the police. The other saw the program as an opportunity to strengthen Rochester communities' efficacy. This divergence in leadership opinion reduces the capacity of the program to be effective. Project TIPS Leadership needs to find a theory community public safety that it can uniformly agree upon. More importantly, the leadership needs to tailor the project around a theory of community that accounts for factors that affect public safety but are only peripherally or tangentially related to public safety, as Warren's (1963) approach argues. Adherence to this theory should mold Project TIPS to include business and educational institutions, as well as other social units in the community that provide the five functions that Warren discusses.

In adherence to this theory, Project TIPS should generate a mechanism for identifying community boundaries in the neighborhoods that the leadership decide to visits. This includes developing methods for finding and coordinating with local community organizations that supply

Warren's (1963) five functions. One of the most practical ways to accomplish this is to tie into current police-community initiatives in Rochester, such as the PCIP meetings and work done by the Crime Prevention Officers at the neighborhood service centers. These initiatives have already started to form the social infrastructure necessary to tie the groups that provide these five functions together. Once these groups are identified and invited to participate, the next step is to coordinate with them as advocates of the community to better provide the functions that they organically produce separately. Examples of coordinated initiatives might be a patrol detail to allow kids to play and interact with one another at a park, or the police offering to provide a substation to a business that wants to bring jobs to the community, or a school-business partnership that promises jobs to local graduates.

Practically, these steps take time to organize and implement. Because of this, the time constraint of a few weeks faced by the individuals who coordinate Project TIPS needs to be expanded. Additionally, as one individual currently coordinates a large portion of the Project TIPS event, additional organizers, perhaps a subcommittee of individuals with ties to community and service provider groups, should help implement the above recommendations. This subcommittee should be given executive control of project TIPS, with the ability to make recommendations and then implement the changes that they see fit to undergo the changes detailed above.

- **Create Mechanisms to Reduce the Social Isolation in Community-Police Relations**

As discussed above, social isolation between police and community residents has led to distrust and lower levels of community satisfaction and eroded the potential of community policing programs. Project TIPS suffers from this same symptom as other community policing programs. Because of this, it should work to develop a better understanding of the perspective of

the residents who live in the neighborhoods, as both Skogan (1996) and Grinc (1994) argue creates disconnect in community-police partnerships. Community policing programs often operate on a set of assumptions regarding community desires. These assumptions often fail to take into account the perspectives carried by the individuals in neighborhoods involved in community policing.

Though many may consider this an extreme measure, Rochester could consider petitioning for the reallocation of police neighborhood beats. These beats would help alleviate the social isolation that plagues contemporary policing by increasing the frequency of interaction between individual police officers and communities within Rochester. Additionally, Project TIPS could work closely with Teen Empowerment to implement the lessons that the youth-officer focus groups learned about community-police relations, particularly the dynamics of interaction that lead to youth feeling respected.

- **Strengthen Project Legitimacy**

Project TIPS threatens to become lumped together with every other failed community initiatives if it can't develop legitimacy in the eyes of community members. Project TIPS Leadership should seriously consider changing the name of the project, as it connotes the anti-snitching movement more so than its community capacity function deems fair contrast. In addition to changing the name of Project TIPS, leadership desperately need to follow through with some of the requests for services as the harbinger of empty promises. This approach would require greater coordination with service providers in Rochester. Perhaps Project TIPS could learn from the experiment employed by Chicago with CAPS, though a complete overhaul in service provision is likely both unnecessary and impractical.

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Appendix A

TIPS Trust – Information - Programs – Services Neighborhood Survey

Note to surveyor: Please read the script as written to begin the survey. **Don't leave a response blank, if the person responds 'nothing', please write the word 'nothing'.**

Hello, my name is _____. We're here with Project TIPS. People from across the community are trying to show support for the neighborhood and provide any assistance that we can offer. We are having a block party down the street and we hope you can join us. We would now like to ask you a few brief questions about the community. Your answers will be left confidential unless you wish to leave your name.

1. How happy are you living in this neighborhood (10 being the highest)?
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
2. How many years have you lived in the Neighborhood?
3. Do you own property or rent?
4. What ONE thing do you like most about your neighborhood?
5. What are your THREE major concerns about the neighborhood RANKED IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE?
6. Are there any specific things that you would like done in this neighborhood?
7. Is there anything specific you would like to tell the police?
8. What specific things would you recommend that members of this neighborhood do to solve some of the problems you listed above?
9. How likely are you to be living in this neighborhood in two years?
Not Likely Unsure Likely
10. Would you say that over the past year, the neighborhood has:
Become Better? Stayed the same? or Become Worse? Why?

We hope that you can join us for free food, pony rides, and community services. We will be there up until 7 o'clock.

Appendix B

Analysis of “TIPS” Survey

September 12, 2008

Working Paper #3

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Analysis of “TIPS” Initiative Survey

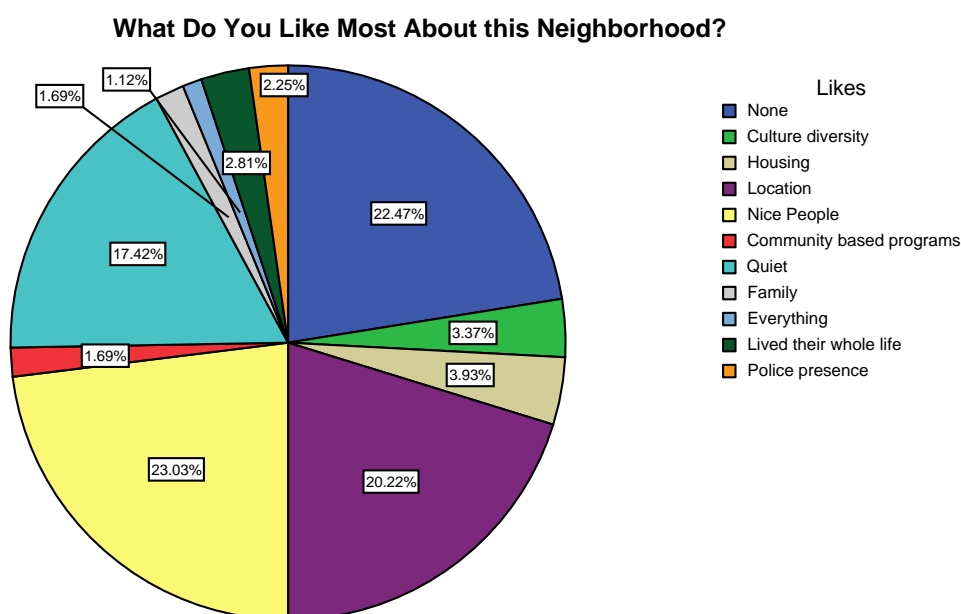
On the 13th of August, 2008, the very first TIPS Initiative was put into affect. The initiative took place on the corner of Driving Park Ave. and Dewey Ave. in the City of Rochester, N.Y., the location of a particularly heinous homicide several months earlier. TIPS was designed to both; rebuild ties between the community and various public organizations such as the police and the fire department, and to obtain information about what issues most concern local community members.

Methodology

The data gathering method of this research involved the use of a survey developed under TIPS and administered by groups of people participating in the initiative that walked the neighborhood door-to-door. The location of the initiative was selected because of the occurrence of a brutal murder that had taken place only a few months prior, not for the purpose of administering a survey. As a result the sample that was obtained for this research was not a random sample, but instead an opportunity sample. Another thing to note is that of the **262** dwellings checked, **215** resulted in a completed survey, the other **47** checked were dwellings where people didn't answer the door or where not home. It is possible that that population surveyed has certain concerns or views that will not be reflected in our data do to that exclusion, but there is no evidence to say that that is a certainty.

The survey used in this research asked participants to list four things using open ended questions: 1) the thing that that person liked most about living in their community, 2) three concerns that they had about their community, 3) their greatest fear about living in their community, and 4) one possible solution for dealing with issues they see in the community. Using SPSS those surveys were coded and analyzed, this is what that analysis showed.

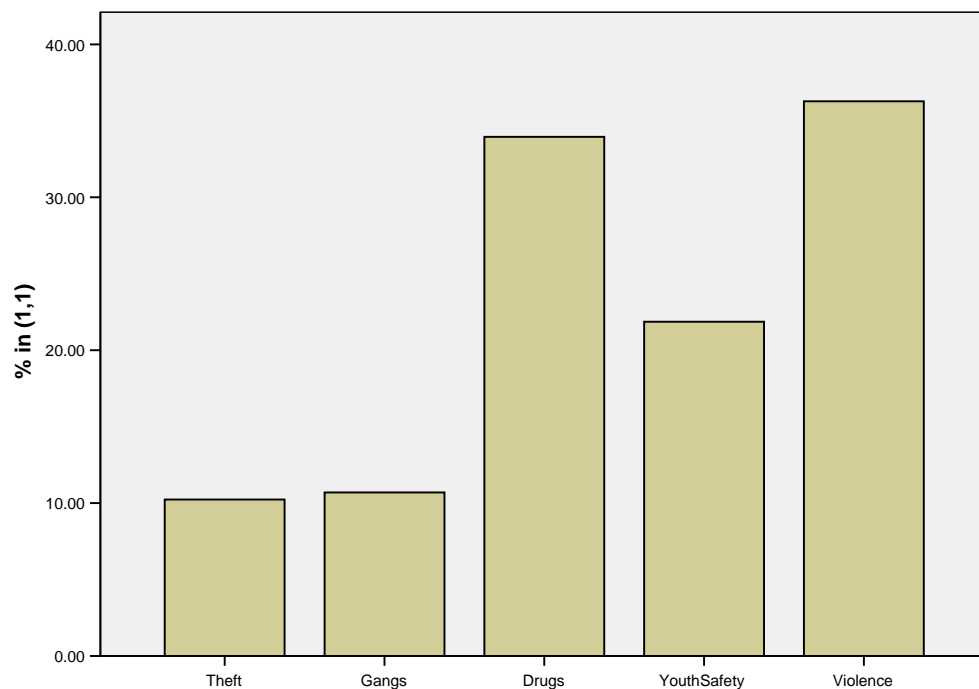
Results: What Residents Like Most about Their Neighborhood



Of the 178 respondents that answered this segment of the survey, thirty-six interviewees responded that they found the location that they lived in convenient (20.2%), meaning that it was

in close proximity to either stores or community organizations like a church or a school. Another forty-one interviewees responded that members of the community were kind and that they had formed friendships with many of them (23%). Thirty-one respondents stated that they liked living in the community because their particular segment was quiet (17.4%). The last significant subject that many interviewees responded was that they liked nothing in the community in which they live, forty people responded this way (22.5%). It is important to note however that *only* 22.5% of the respondents stated that they liked nothing in their communities, compared to the 87.5% that *did* identify at least one thing that they liked. Included in the thirty (17.1%) respondents that did not note these four main subjects were; the diversity of culture in the area (3.4%), the availability of cheap housing (3.9%), the existence of community based programs (1.7%), members of their families lived there (1.7%), they had lived there their whole life (2.8%), and the visible presence of police officers (2.2%). Two respondents were compelled to state that they liked everything about their communities. It is important to discuss the limitations of the first question of the survey. Because the question was limited to only one “like”, it is possible that the respondents liked more than one aspect of their communities but were discouraged from saying so because of the wording of the question.

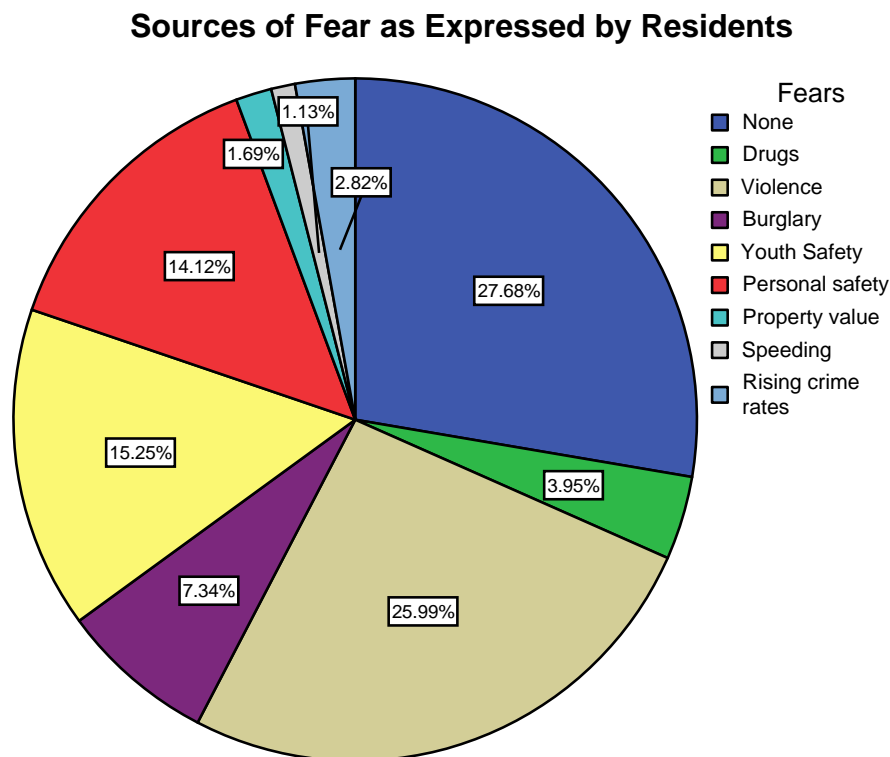
Residents’ Concerns About their Neighborhood (Percent listing)



In this part of the survey residents could list more than one issue of concern. The data for this section were, thus, analyzed by calculating the percentage of respondents that listed a particular concern. The different concerns listed included; theft, gangs, drugs, loitering, police actions, garbage on the street, personal safety, the safety of the communities youth, violence, prostitution, the housing market, traffic and speeding, noise, and finally the rising crime rate. Theft (10.2%), gangs (10.7%), loitering (7%), the actions of the police (2.3%), garbage on the street (3.3%),

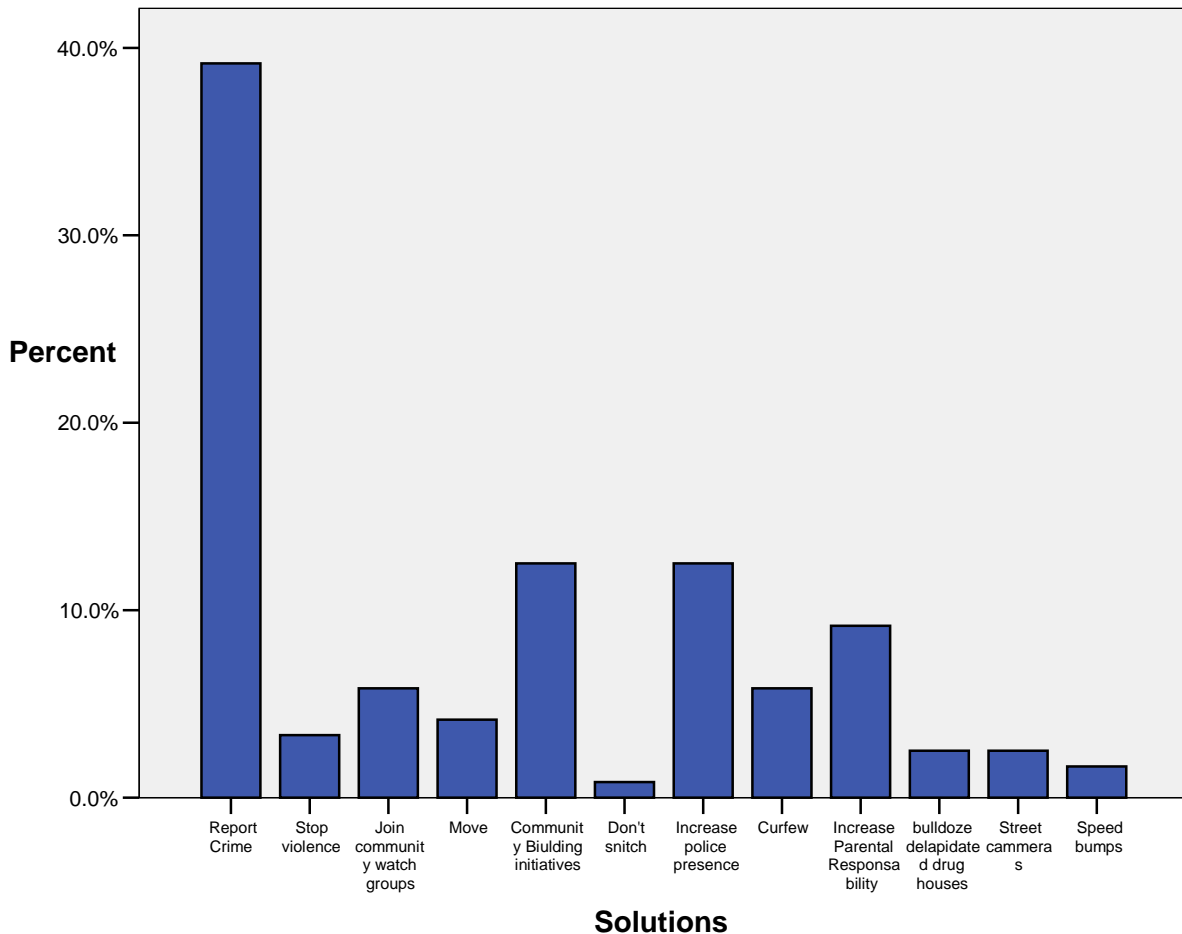
personal safety (7.9%), prostitution (4.7%), decline of the housing market (1.9%), traffic and speeding (9.8%), noise (7%), and an increase in crime rates (4.7%) all were observed by less than 11% of the survey sample. The three concerns listed much more frequently than those eleven above were; the safety of the community's youth (21.9%), the existence of drugs in the community (34%), and the occurrence of violence in their communities (36.3%). Concern for the community's youth included youth getting caught up in any form of violence, youth getting hit by a speeding car, youth being out late, or youth being unsupervised. Violence included any reference to fights, shootings, stabbings, or other acts.

Residents' Greatest Fear in the Neighborhood



The third section of the survey asked respondents to list their single greatest fear in the community. One-hundred and seventy-seven respondents completed this section. Of the responses to this section, drugs (4%), burglary (7.3%), declining property value (1.7%), speeding cars (1.1%), and rising crime rates (2.8%), were all reported relatively infrequently. Personal safety (14.1%), youth safety (15.3%), and violence (26%) were the three most reported fears. Surprisingly forty-nine (27.7%) of the respondents reported they had no fears living in their communities, which is more than any other fear category.

Possible Solutions to Community Problems



The final segment of the survey asked respondents to list one possible solution to the problems that they see in their communities. Twelve different ideas were represented with nine infrequently listed and three listed more frequently. The infrequently listed ideas included, actions to stop the violence (3.3%), joining community watch groups (5.8%), moving (4.2%), enforcing the curfew (5.8%), increasing parental responsibility and supervision (9.2%), knocking down condemned houses used in drug trade (2.5%), installing street cameras (2.5%), and installing speed bumps to reduce speeding (1.7%). The more frequently listed ideas included, increasing police presence on the street (12.5%), participating in more community building initiatives “like this one” in the city (12.5%), and reporting crime and calling the police if a crime was witnessed or discovered (39.2%). One last idea listed that should be noted was the notion to “stop snitching” (.8). Though this was only one respondent of the 177 completed surveys, it is important to note because of the efforts to reverse such thinking in the city.

Conclusion

This report analyzed data from a neighborhood survey which was part of a response to a local homicide. The data show that most residents reported positive attributes of their neighborhood

while also reporting concerns over crime and violence. When residents reported fears, they often said they had no fears or their fears were for the safety of youths. Alternately, a nearly equal group indicated fears around violence and personal safety. One curious finding was that drugs ranked high among residents' concerns but low as a source of fear. The solutions residents felt most strongly about dealt with actively participating in their neighborhood by reporting crime to the police and participating in community building initiatives followed by getting greater police and parental engagement.

Appendix C

Community Concerns and Desires: Analysis of Dayton Street TIPS Initiative

Working Paper # 123

February 2009

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Community Concerns and Desires: Analysis of Dayton Street TIPS Initiative

The TIPS initiative on Dayton Street in Rochester, New York, was implemented to both to show support for a neighborhood that has been taken aback by drugs and youth violence, and to investigate community member's concerns and desires for their neighborhood. This paper is designed to analyze the second part of the initiative. This paper will discuss; the various likes that the community around Dayton Street has for the neighborhood, the various concerns the community around Dayton Street has about their neighborhood, and the initiatives or activities the community around Dayton Street would like implemented within the neighborhood. Finally, this paper will provide multiple anecdotes that the community members near Dayton Street wish to share with law enforcement agents in Rochester.

Methodology

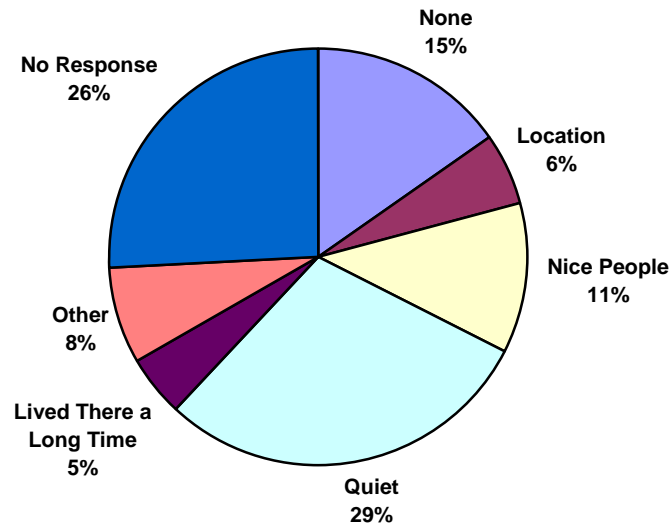
The initiative implemented surveys to obtain this information. These surveys asked people to list their likes, concerns, and desires for things to be done within their neighborhood. Finally, the surveys asked the respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police. Groups of four volunteers were sent out to administer the survey to particular streets. Each group had at least one Rochester City Police officer with them. These groups were instructed to travel down one side of the street and then return on the other side, knocking on every door. When people answered, the volunteers were to read a ready made script to the participant. Only those houses where people responded and agreed to take the survey were included in the sample. Because of this, the resulting sample is not a random sample of the community surrounding Dayton Street. In spite of this, the resulting analysis should give valuable insight into the various issues within the Dayton Street Community.

Data Analysis

As stated above, nine streets were surveyed for this analysis; Pulaski Street, Avenue D, Ernst Street, Dayton Street, Roycroft Drive, North Street, Bradford Street, Agnes Street, and Cleon Street. To begin, those streets will be pooled together for analysis. I will call this nine street area ‘the neighborhood around Dayton Street.’

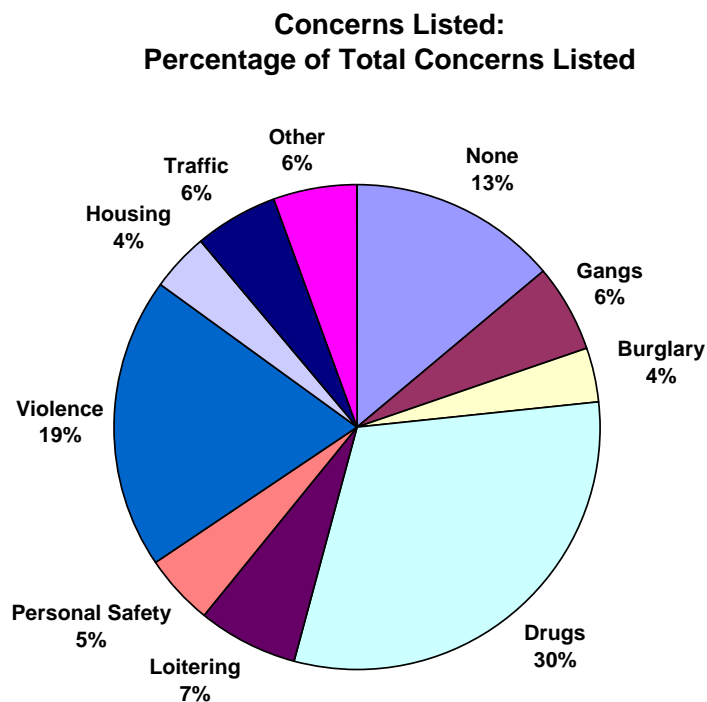
Firstly, we will examine the likes the neighborhood around Dayton Street listed. Of the 105 total surveys collected, 78 listed a response for this question. Of those 78 responses, three common answers were listed by the neighborhood around Dayton Street much more so than others. Thirty-one respondents listed that they liked the neighborhood because it was quiet with little activity, sixteen respondents explicitly stated that they liked nothing at all about the neighborhood, and twelve respondents listed that they liked all or some of the people within the neighborhood. It is important to note that while coding the surveys, respondents who left this question, “what do you like most about your neighborhood?”, blank, were coded as missing answers instead of the answer of ‘nothing.’ It is possible that these people intended to write that they liked ‘nothing’ about the neighborhood and left the question blank instead. Twenty-seven respondents left this question blank. Other likes stated by the neighborhood around Dayton Street include; six people stating the location was convenient, five people stating that they lived there their whole life, three respondents stating that they liked the cameras, two people stating that they liked the nearby community programs and another two who liked the cheap rent, and finally one person who stated that they liked ‘everything’ about the neighborhood around Dayton Street.

Likes Listed: Percentage of Total Surveyed



Next we will look at the major the concerns listed by the neighborhood around Dayton Street. Many people listed more than one answer to this question. In order to capture all responses, responses will be measured in percentage of total concerns listed by the neighborhood around Dayton Street. Eighty-two people listed responses to this question, totaling one-hundred and seven responses. Again there were three common answers listed more so than others by the sample. Thirty-three people listed that drugs and drug sales were a concern to them, twenty-one stated that violence was a concern to them, and eighteen explicitly responded that they had no concerns within the neighborhood around Dayton Street. Again it is important to note that while coding the surveys, whenever a respondent left this question blank I coded it as 'missing' instead of 'no concerns.' It is possible that these people meant to respond that they have no concerns. Twenty-three of one-hundred and five people surveyed left this section blank (22%). Other responses include; seven responses for loitering or youth hanging out, six responses for excessive

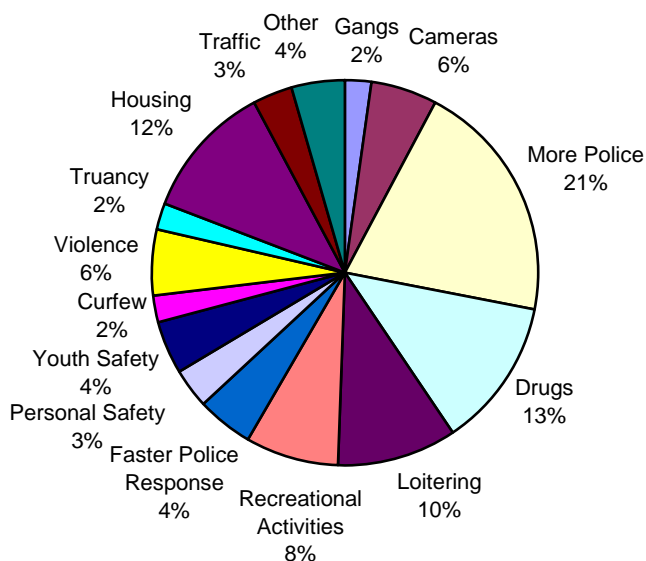
traffic on the street or speeding, six respondents were concerned about gangs, five respondents were concerned for their own safety, and four stating that broken down and vacant houses were a concern. One respondent each was listed for having concern for the following; lack of hope in the youth, disrespectful police, over aggressive policing, lack of health insurance, garbage on the street, and youth safety.



Unlike the previous questions, when the neighborhood around Dayton Street was asked what specific things they would like done only one response stood out. Eighteen respondents stated that they wanted more police and more visible police presence within their community. After that; eleven respondents wanted the drugs removed, ten respondents wanted the vacant houses removed or fixed, nine wanted youth loitering or ‘hanging out’ removed, seven wanted more community programs and recreational activities, five wanted more cameras and five others wanted the violence removed, four wanted faster police response to calls for service, four wanted

the youth to be protected and three wanted anything done that would make the neighborhood safer, three wanted the traffic to be reduced and people to drive slower, two wanted gangs removed, two wanted the curfew put back in place, and two wanted truant youth to be dealt with and taken to school. Lastly, one person each responded that they; wanted burglary dealt with, wanted youth harassment toward the community ended, and wanted noise late at night to stop.

Specific Things Respondents Requested to be Done: Percentage of Total Responses



The fourth and final question asked community members if they had anything specific to tell the police. Sixty-one of the one-hundred and five respondents answered this question (58.1%). Of those sixty-one, only three reported any specific crimes. Eight people called for more police patrols of some sort. Six people stated that the police were doing well and two stated that they would call the police when they needed help. Five people expressed the desire

that police remove drug activity from their neighborhood. Three people stated that the cameras installed in their area were helpful, and one person stated that they were a waste of money. Two people called for closer police-community relations. Two people expressed that they were sorry for what happened to Officer DiPonzio. Others made general statements about crime like “Reduce crime [and] clean up [the] area,” “get guns off [the] street,” and “youth with guns [are] walking down [the] street, [and their] behavior [is] supported by [their] parents.” Finally, two people stated that police officers need to be more respectful. These last two stated that their community needs “more respectful [police] officers who act as better role models,” and “[we are] sorry for [officer] DiPonzio, but please treat us with respect.”

Street by Street Analysis

One luxury that we had for the Dayton Street TIPS analysis that wasn’t in place for the Driving Park TIPS analysis was the ability to separate the surveys by street name. This means that this analysis can show possible differences between the individual street blocks within the neighborhood around Dayton Street. For the most part, because of the diversity of answers and small number of respondents for each street, there was very little variation that could be seen.

Only three streets were notable outliers when it came to listing likes. On Dayton Street, five of the six respondents explicitly listed that they had no likes in their neighborhood. This is in stark contrast to both Bradford Street and Avenue D where every respondent listed at least one like for their neighborhood. All other streets had at least one person who listed that they had no likes for the neighborhood.

Only three streets stood out when comparing listed concerns. Bradford Street had eight respondents who listed that they had no concerns for the neighborhood. This is more than all of the other streets combined, which totaled seven. Pulaski Street and Roycroft Drive however

were the only two streets who did not have at least one respondent list that they had no concerns for their neighborhood. Pulaski Street and Roycroft Drive were also responsible for the most responses to this question, eighteen and nineteen respectively. This is four and five more responses than the next closest, respectively. This happened even though Pulaski Street and Roycroft Drive were tied for third and fifth for most surveys completed, respectively.

These indicators may go to show that Bradford Street is an area with less crime and drug activity, and that Pulaski Street and Roycroft Drive have higher levels of crime and drug activity. However, this last part could also mean that Pulaski Street and Roycroft Drive have community members that are more aware of the issues in their neighborhood and more willing to share that information with police. These interpretations are meant to stimulate thought and discussion, not to be conclusive.

Appendix D

Community Concerns and Desires: Analysis of Jefferson Avenue TIPS Initiative

Working Paper # 683

April 2009

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Community Concerns and Desires: Analysis of Dayton Street TIPS Initiative

The TIPS initiative on Jefferson Avenue in Rochester, New York, was implemented to both to show support for a neighborhood that has been taken aback by

drugs and youth violence, and to investigate community member's concerns and desires for their neighborhood. This paper is designed to analyze the second part of the initiative. It will discuss the various likes that the community around Jefferson Avenue has for the neighborhood, the various concerns the community around Jefferson Avenue has about their neighborhood, and the initiatives or activities the community around Jefferson Avenue would like implemented within the neighborhood. Finally, this paper will provide multiple anecdotes that the community members near Jefferson Avenue wish to share with law enforcement and community members in the community around Jefferson Avenue.

Methodology

The initiative implemented surveys to obtain this information. These surveys asked people to list their likes, concerns, and desires for things to be done within their neighborhood. The surveys then asked the respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police, and, finally, if they had anything to share with their fellow community members. Groups of three or four volunteers were sent out to administer the survey to pre-selected streets in the neighborhood. Each group had at least one Rochester City Police officer with them. These groups were instructed to travel down one side of the street and then return on the other side, knocking on every door. When residents answered, the volunteers were to read a ready made script to the participant and then conduct the survey. Only those houses where residents responded and agreed to take the survey were included in the sample.

Because of this door-by-door sampling method, the resulting sample is not a random sample of the community surrounding Jefferson Avenue. In spite of this, the resulting analysis should give valuable insight into the various issues within the Jefferson Avenue community. Lastly, surveyors were instructed not to leave sections on the survey blank. This had become a problem in some of the earlier TIPS analyses.

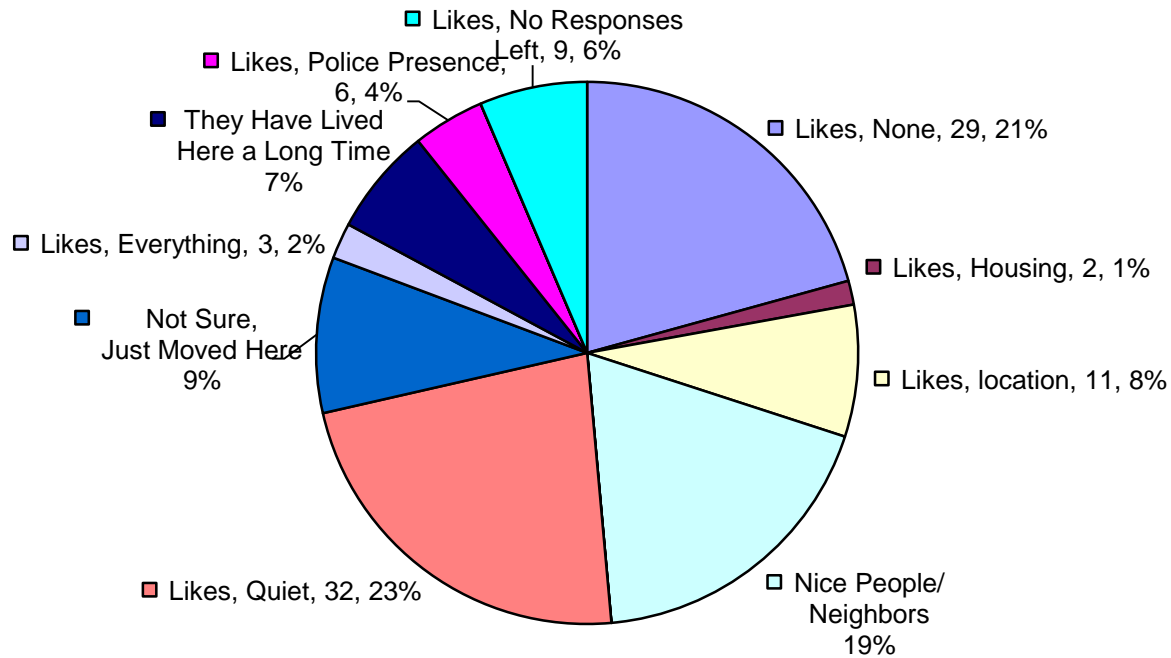
Data Analysis

Fifteen street blocks on eleven streets were surveyed for this initiative. Those streets were Cady Street, Frost Avenue, Bartlett Street, Arnett Boulevard, Champlain Street, Iceland Park, Florence Street, Kenmore Street, Hawley Street, Columbia Avenue, and Lenox Street. To begin, those fifteen street blocks will be pooled into one group for analysis. This group will be referred to as 'the community around Jefferson Avenue.'

Firstly, we will examine the likes the community around Jefferson Avenue listed. Of the 140 surveys collected, 131 had completed this section. In those 131 surveys, three responses stood out. Of the 131 surveys, 23% reported that they liked the community around Jefferson Avenue because it was relatively 'quiet' and uneventful. Another 21% of the respondents explicitly stated that they liked 'nothing' about the community around Jefferson Avenue. The next largest group, 19%, reported that they liked some or all of the people in the community around Jefferson Avenue. Interestingly, only 2% of the respondents reported that they liked 'everything' about the community around Jefferson Avenue. The remainder of the responses is depicted in the graphic directly below.

Likes: Percent of Total Respondents

n = 140

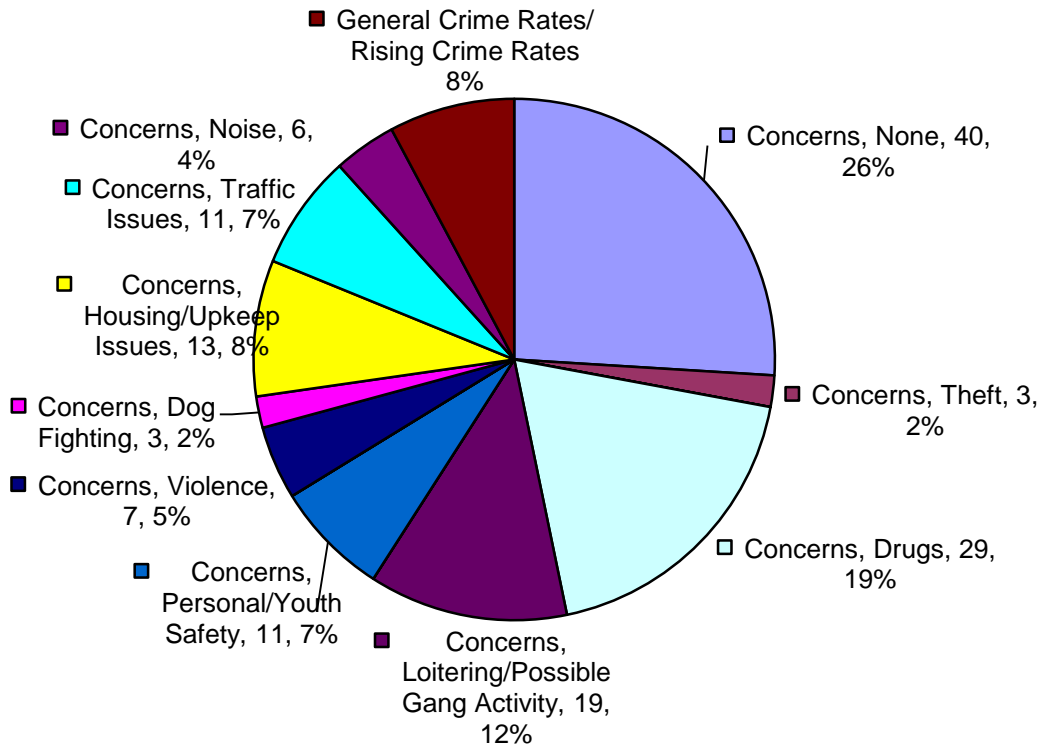


Secondly, we will discuss the concerns that the community around Jefferson Avenue reported. Respondents were allowed to report more than one concern for this section. This rendered 159 total concerns listed by. This pool of 159 total concerns includes the response of 'nothing' and excludes those people that left this section blank. Only 13 respondents left this section blank.

The response of 'nothing' was the most frequently reported answer for this question, comprising 26% of all responses listed. The second most reported concern was 'drugs' (19%), followed by 'loitering/possible gang activity' (12%). The response of 'loitering' was a combination of youth 'hanging out', youth 'standing on street corners', or respondents wondering if youth 'hanging' belonged to a gang. The remainder of the concerns listed is depicted in the graphic directly below.

Concerns: Percent of Total Concerns Listed

n = 159



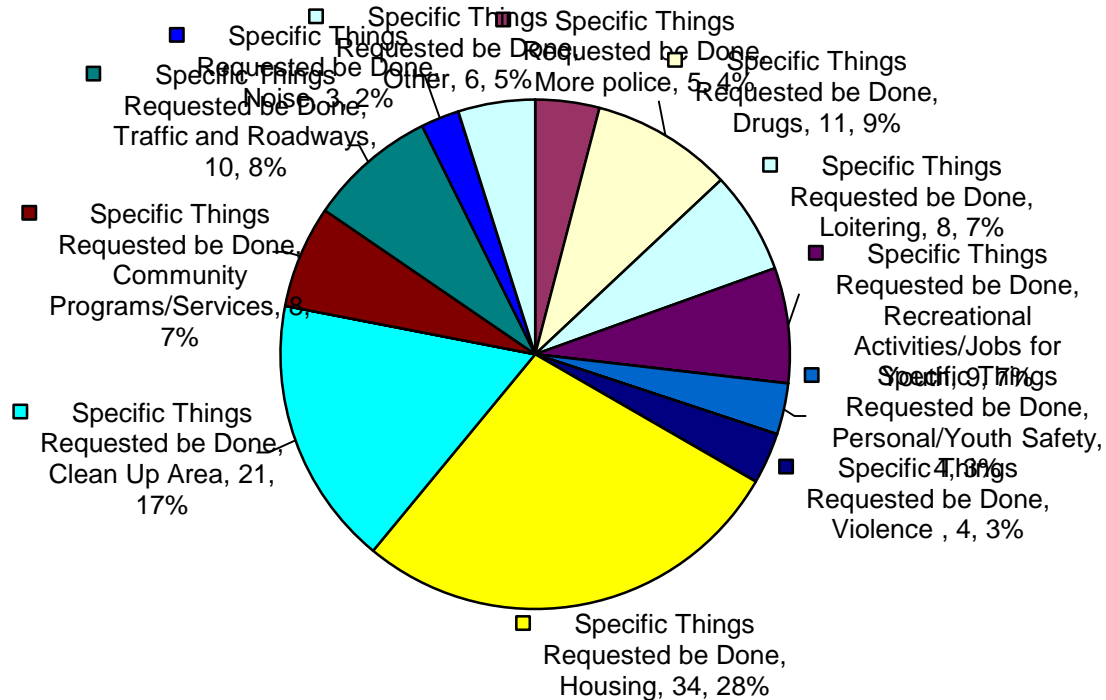
The next question asked respondents to list specific things that they wanted to see done in the community around Jefferson Avenue. For this question respondents were allowed to report more than one request, though no one listed more than two. In the end, 76 respondents reported one request, and 22 respondents reported two requests, resulting in a total of 120 requests for the analysis. This pool excludes persons who left the section blank or stated 'none'.

Only two responses for section were listed more so than the others. Of the sample, 28% reported that they wanted 'housing' issues dealt with. This encompassed a wide range of desires from a few persons wanting harsher restrictions on 'slumlords' to a large portion wanting abandoned buildings being removed or rebuilt. This also includes those who wanted community members to keep their properties clean.

The next most frequent request listed by respondents was the desire to 'clean up the area'. This was a rather difficult response to code from the surveys. When a respondent listed that they wanted someone to 'clean up the area', I was unable to tell if they wanted garbage removed and streets cleaned, buildings torn down or fixed up, crime and deviant behavior in general reduced, or a combination of few different things. Qualitative studies and focus group research with residents in the community around Jefferson Avenue would determine what some of these surveys implied. The remainder of the requests is depicted in the graphic directly below.

Specific Things Requested be Done in the Area: Percent of Total Requests Listed

n = 120



The fourth question asked respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police. Of the 140 surveys collected, 75 (56.3%) had completed this section. Of those 75, 2 (2.7%) reported specific crimes in the survey. It should be noted that there was evidence in the surveys that the officer in the four person groups took information on crimes from respondents. That being said, it is impossible with the information on hand to determine the exact number of crimes that were reported on scene, or that will be reported in the future because of the information given to residents in the community around Jefferson Avenue.

Most responses to this section, 24 (32%), reported that the police are doing well and to keep up the good work. Contrary to this, 11 (14.6%) respondents reported some form of criticism of the police, be it that police attitudes are too negative or that some officers harass people for no reason. The remainder of these responses was general statements about crime or deviance in the area. These consisted of statements like ‘there are drugs in the area’ and ‘there are kids hanging out at night.’

The fifth question asked respondents if there were any specific recommendations they had for the community around Jefferson Avenue to solve some of the problems they listed. This was the first time that this question was asked in a TIPS survey. Of the 140 surveys collected, 52 (37.1%) completed this section. Of those 52, 25 (48.1%) communicated in some way that the community has to “stick together” and “communicate” to “work to solve the problems” because “...you can’t do it

on your own.” Others stated that community watch programs and Pac-Tac would help. A few stated that the community has to do a better job of reaching out to and calling the police.

Appendix E

Analysis of Conkey Avenue TIPS Initiative

(Trust – Information – Programs – Services)

Working Paper # 127

September 2009

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(Trust – Information – Programs – Services)
**Analysis of Conkey Avenue TIPS
Initiative Survey**

The TIPS initiative, which stands for Trust, Information, Programs, and services, on Conkey Avenue in Rochester, New York, was implemented to both to show support

for a neighborhood that has been taken aback by drugs and youth violence, and to investigate community member's concerns and desires for their neighborhood. This report is designed to analyze the second part of that initiative. It will discuss the various likes that the community around Conkey Avenue has for the neighborhood, the various concerns the community around Conkey Avenue has about their neighborhood, and the initiatives or activities the community around Conkey Avenue would like implemented within the neighborhood. Finally, this paper will provide multiple anecdotes that the community members near Conkey Avenue wish to share with law enforcement and community members in the community around Conkey Avenue.

Methodology

The initiative used surveys to obtain this information. These surveys asked people to list their likes, concerns, and desires for things to be done within their neighborhood. The surveys asked community members how much they liked living in their area, how long they have lived there, and how likely they were to be living in the area in the future. The surveys then asked the respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police, and, finally, if they had anything to share with their fellow community members. Groups of three or four volunteers were sent out to administer the survey to pre-selected streets in the neighborhood. Each group had at least one Rochester City Police officer with them. These groups were instructed to travel down one side of the street and then return on the other side, knocking on every door. When residents answered, the volunteers were to read a ready made script to the participant and then conduct the survey. Only those houses where residents responded and agreed to take the survey were included in the sample.

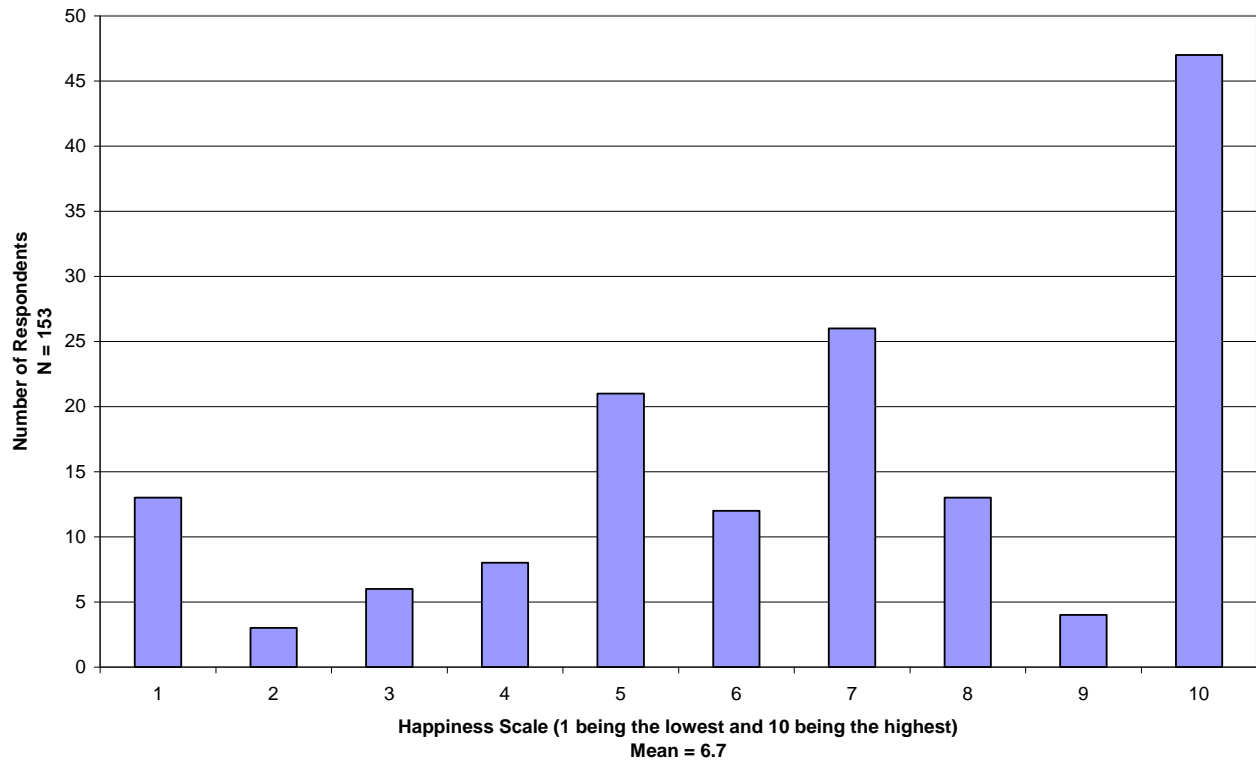
Because of this door-by-door sampling method, the resulting sample is not a random sample of the community surrounding Conkey Avenue. Despite this, the resulting analysis should give valuable insight into the various issues within the Conkey Avenue community.

Data Analysis

Nine streets, comprised of fifteen street blocks, were surveyed. These streets were Avenue A, Avenue B, Avenue C, Avenue D, Harris Street, Gladys Street, Conkey Avenue, Roth Street, and Radio Street. To begin, the 163 total surveys collected from all of these streets will be pooled together for analysis. This group will be referred to as 'the community around Conkey Avenue' for the remainder of this analysis.

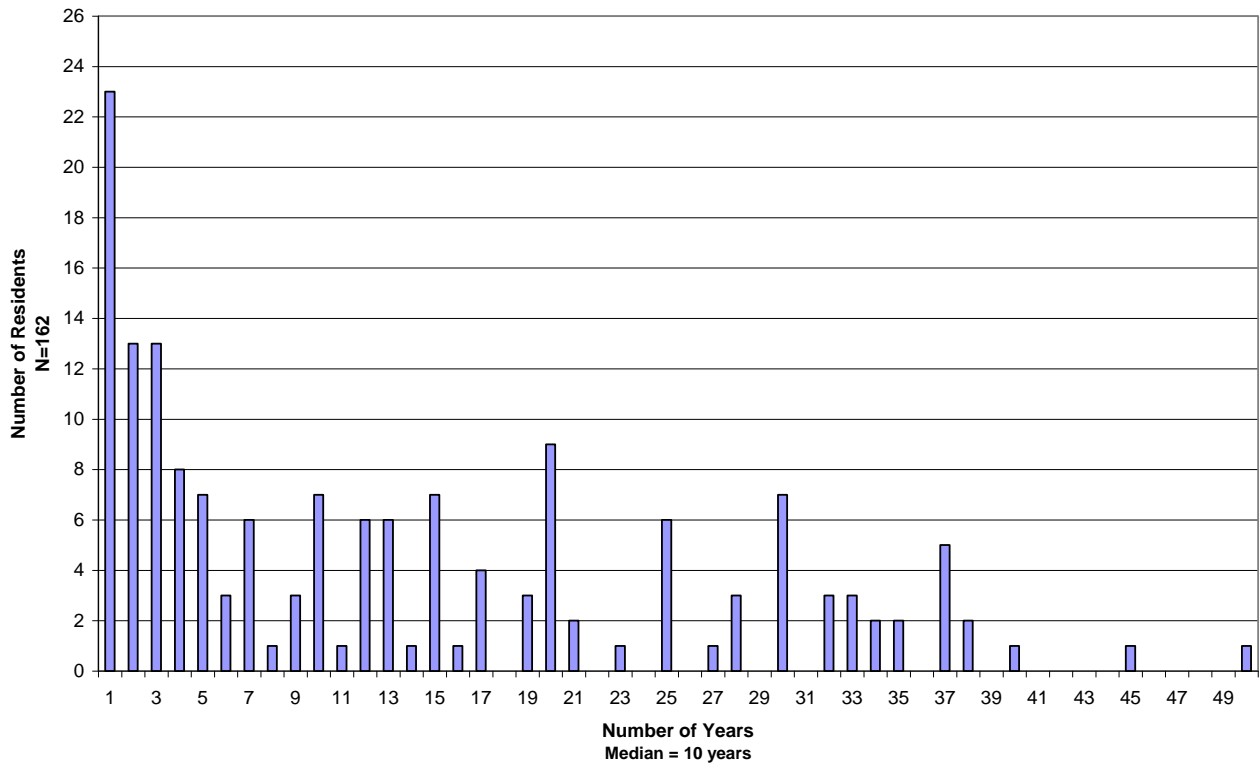
The first question to the community around Conkey Avenue asked respondents to rate on a scale of one to ten, ten being the highest, how happy they were living in their neighborhood. This was the first time that this question was asked in a TIPS survey. Most respondents, 30.7%, listed a ten, the highest possible score. The mean, or average, response for this section was a 6.7 on the 1-10 scale. Because this was the first time this question was asked on a TIPS survey, this analysis has no 'happiness' measure with which to compare this data with. However, should another TIPS initiative occur, a comparison will be possible.

How Happy Resident Respondents are with Living in the Conkey Avenue Area

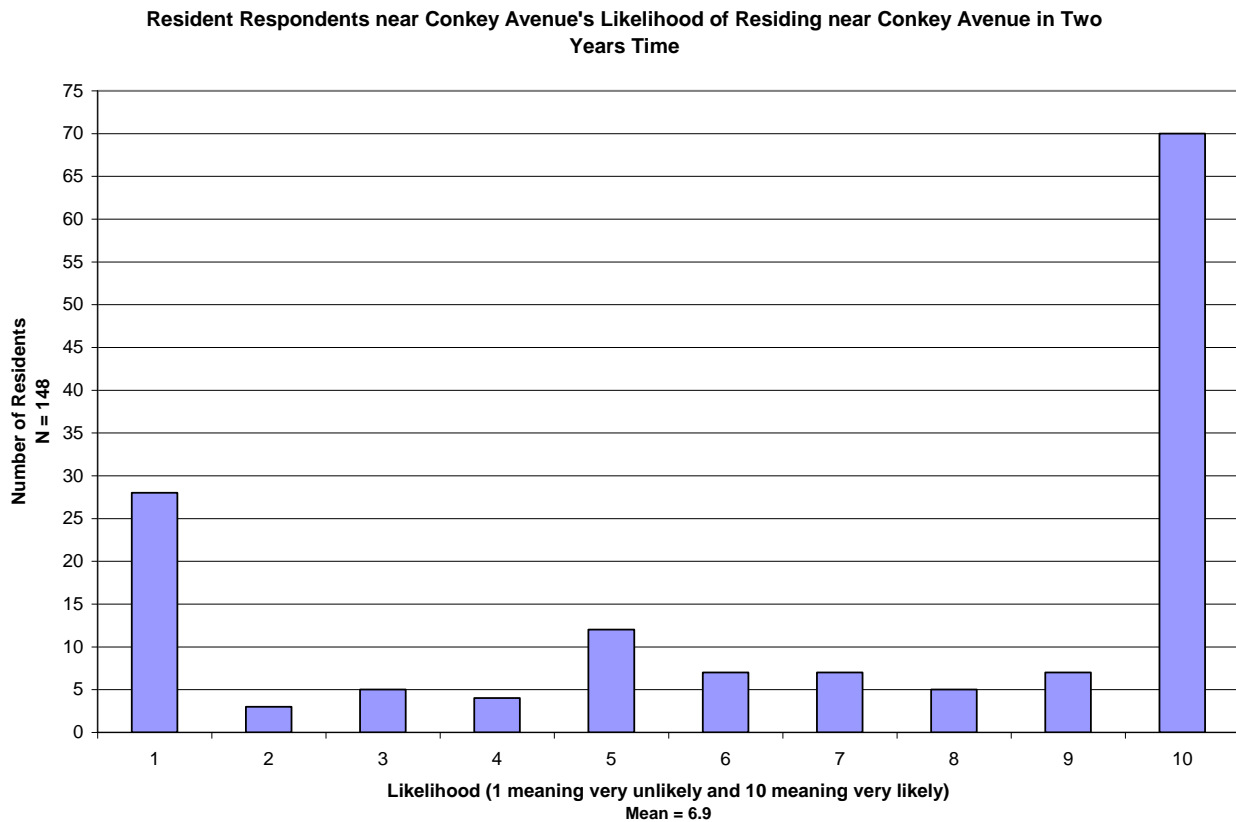


The next question asked respondents how long they had lived in the community around Conkey Avenue. Just over 30% reported living in the area three years or less with 14% reporting that they had lived in the area a year or less. Also, 48% reported having lived in the area at least 10 years time, with 31% reporting having lived at least 20 years. The median number of years lived in the area for these respondents was 10.

Resident Respondents' Number of Years lived Near Conkey Avenue

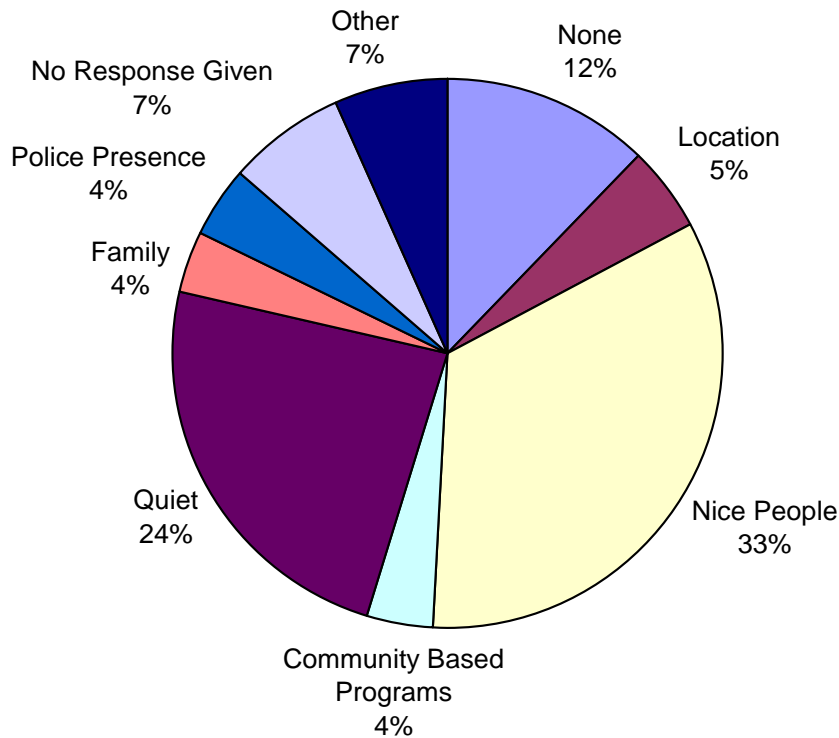


The next question asked residents how likely they were to be living in the community around Conkey Avenue in two years time. Responses were taken on a one to ten scale. Of the 148 residents who responded to this question, 47.3% responded with a ten, the highest possible score, indicating that they were very likely to be in the area in two years, and 18.9% responded with a one, the lowest possible score, indicating that it was very unlikely that they would be in the area in two years. Overall, 65% of the respondents reported that they were more likely to stay than not. The mean, or average, response for this question was a 6.9.



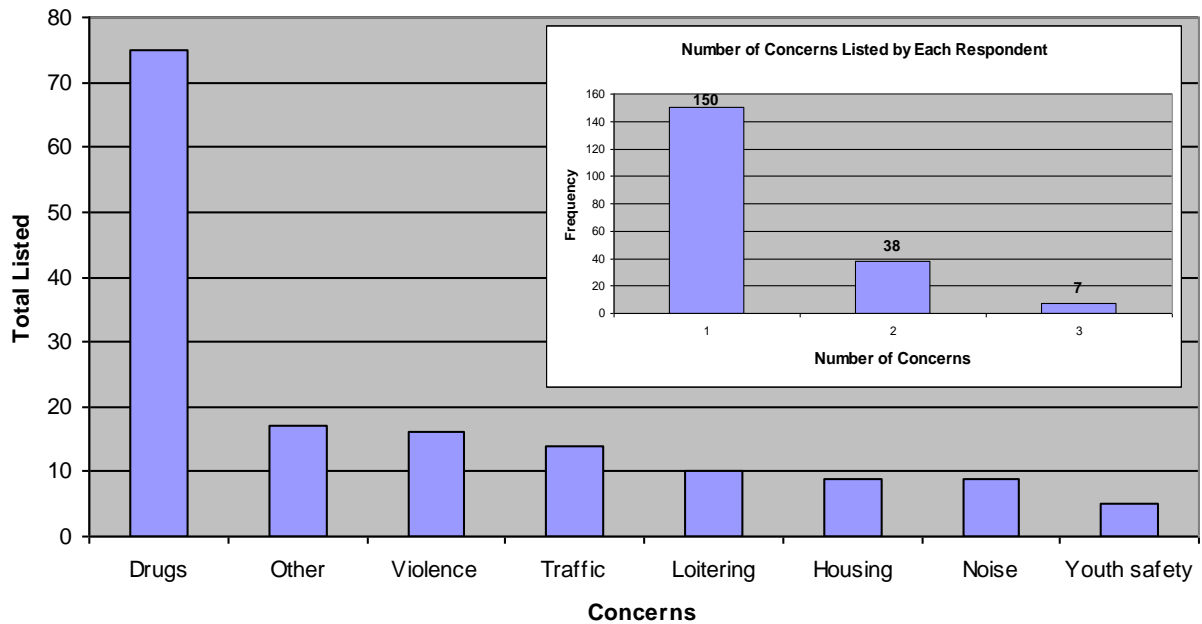
The next question asked residents to list the one thing they liked most in the community around Conkey Avenue. This question was open ended, meaning that the residents were not limited as to what they could respond. Most respondents, 33%, stated that the people around Conkey Avenue were their greatest like, followed by 24% reporting that they liked how the area was 'quiet'. The remaining responses are depicted in the graphic below. The category of 'other' refers to the responses of 'cultural diversity', 'housing', 'everything', 'lived there a long time', 'and its safe'.

Community Around Conkey Avenue's Likes:
Percent of Total Likes Listed
N = 163



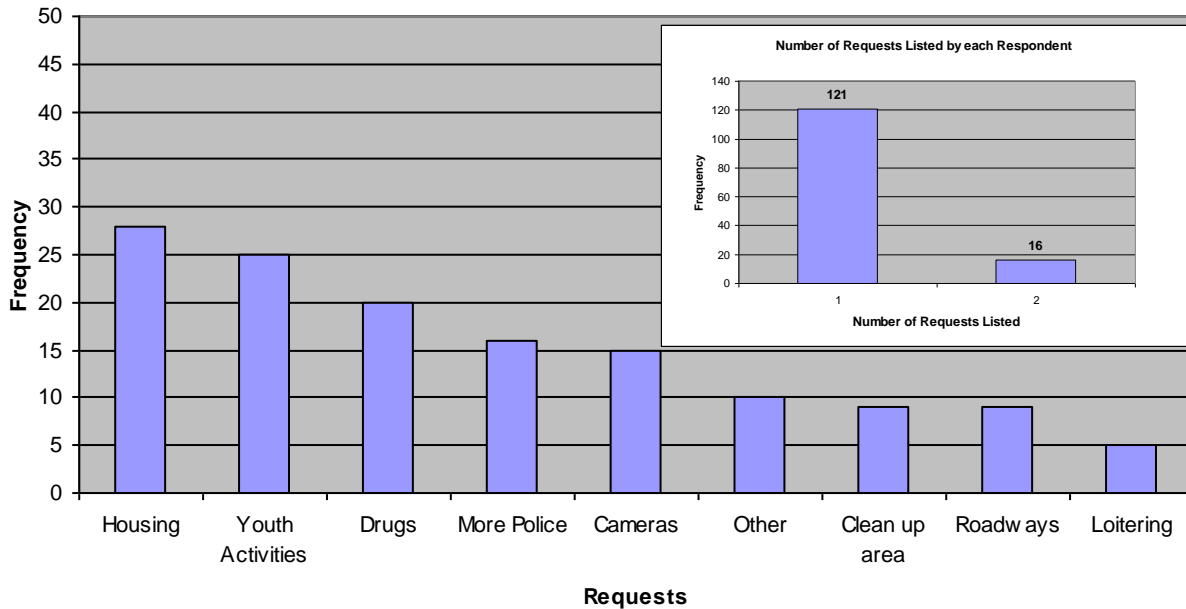
The next question asked residents to list up to three concerns that they had in the community around Conkey Avenue. A total of 150 respondents answered this question. Right up front, 17% of all respondents stated that they had no concerns whatsoever in the area. The remaining 83% listed a total of 155 concerns. The most frequently listed concern was that of drugs, comprising 49% of all listed concerns. The following graphic depicts the remaining concerns listed. The 'Other' category is comprised of the responses 'theft', 'gangs', 'burglary', 'lack of police presence', 'people in area', 'police disrespect', 'garbage on streets', 'poverty', 'general crime rates', and 'dog fighting'.

Concerns Listed by the Community Surrounding Conkey Avenue N = 155



The next question asked respondents if there were any specific requests to be done in the community around Conkey Avenue. A total of 121 respondents listed a total of 137 requests. The most frequent requests were for adding recreational centers or basketball courts for youth, the removal of drugs from the area, and housing and maintenance issues, which included tearing down abandoned houses and cleaning up yards.

Respondents' Requests to be Done in the Community Around Conkey Avenue N = 137



The next two questions asked respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police or their fellow community members. Because these questions were open ended, very little in the way of quantification can be done. However, their anecdotes can provide interesting insight into how the members of the community around Conkey Avenue think and feel.

To begin, some quotes directed to police will be examined. Many of these quotes are specific to crime that takes place in their area. Many residents wish to inform police that when police are not in an area, youth come outside and hang out or sell drugs. This occurs sometimes late at night. Outside of these general crime reports, many community members wish to let the police know that the police are 'doing well' or 'doing a great job'. Only a few members expressed discontent with the police, stating that the police are at times 'disrespectful'. Some residents also called for 'more police' and specifically requested 'more police patrols'. They also requested for cameras to be set up on their streets.'

Secondly, this analysis will examine anecdotes residents wished to share with each other. There were a few quotes requesting that neighbors 'keep their area clean' and 'call the police more often', but overridingly residents call upon each other 'stick together' and 'communicate' with each other. Some suggested 'block parties' or that people should 'come together and discuss issues'. It is my opinion based on these anecdotes that there is a general desire for

community organizing in this area, at least amongst those that took this survey, and that any effort to build community within this area would be relatively productive.

Finally, the survey asked residents if they wished to leave their name or address. Of the total 163 residents that completed the survey, 41.1% left a name, and 34.4% left their address.

Appendix F

**Analysis of Hudson Avenue
TIPS Initiative
(Trust – Information – Programs – Services)**

Working Paper # 130

November 2009

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**(Trust – Information – Programs – Services)
Analysis of Hudson Avenue TIPS
Initiative Survey**

The TIPS initiative, which stands for Trust, Information, Programs, and services, on Hudson Avenue in Rochester, New York, was implemented to both to show support for a neighborhood that has been taken aback by drugs and youth violence, and to investigate community member's concerns and desires for their neighborhood. This report

is designed to analyze the second part of that initiative. It will discuss the various likes that the community around Hudson Avenue has for the neighborhood, the various concerns the community around Hudson Avenue has about their neighborhood, and the initiatives or activities the community around Hudson Avenue would like implemented within the neighborhood. Finally, this paper will provide multiple anecdotes that the community members near Hudson Avenue wish to share with law enforcement and community members in the community around Hudson Avenue.

Methodology

The initiative used surveys to obtain this information. These surveys asked people to list their likes, concerns, and desires for things to be done within their neighborhood. The surveys asked community members how much they liked living in their area, how long they have lived there, and how likely they were to be living in the area in the future. The surveys then asked the respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police, and, finally, if they had anything to share with their fellow community members.

Groups of three or four volunteers were sent out to administer the survey to pre-selected streets in the neighborhood. Each group had at least one Rochester City Police officer with them. These groups were instructed to travel down one side of the street and then return on the other side, knocking on every door. When residents answered, the volunteers were to read a ready made script to the participant and then conduct the survey. Only those houses where residents responded and agreed to take the survey were included in the sample.

Because of this door-by-door sampling method, the resulting sample is not a random sample of the community surrounding Hudson Avenue. Despite this, the resulting analysis should give valuable insight into the various issues within the Hudson Avenue community.

Data

Twelve streets, comprised of thirteen street blocks, were surveyed. These streets were Weaver Street, Pulaski Street, Peckham Street, Norton Street, Sobieski Street, Kosciusko Street, Stanislaus Street, Northeast Avenue, St. Casimir Street, North Street, and Wakefield Street. Due to a small number of surveys collected on each street it is difficult to accurately compare between them. Therefore, for this analysis the surveys collected from the streets mentioned above will be pooled together for analysis. This group will be referred to as ‘the community around Hudson Avenue’.

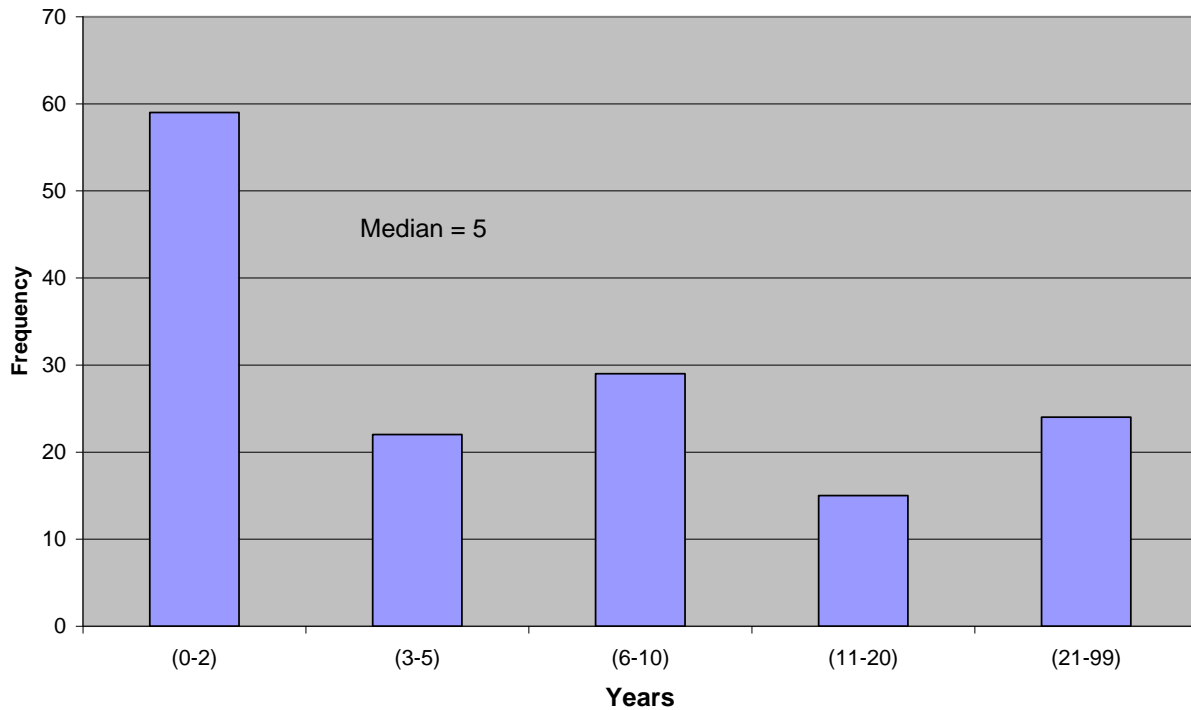
The first question to the community around Hudson Avenue asked respondents to rate on a scale of one to ten, ten being the highest, how happy they were living in their neighborhood. This was the second time that this question was asked in a TIPS survey. Most respondents, 14.3%, listed a ten, the highest possible score. Overall, 61.7% reported a 6 or higher. The mean, or average, response for this section was a 6.1 on the 1-10 scale.

Hudson Avenue Area Respondents' Happiness in Living in the Area
N = 133



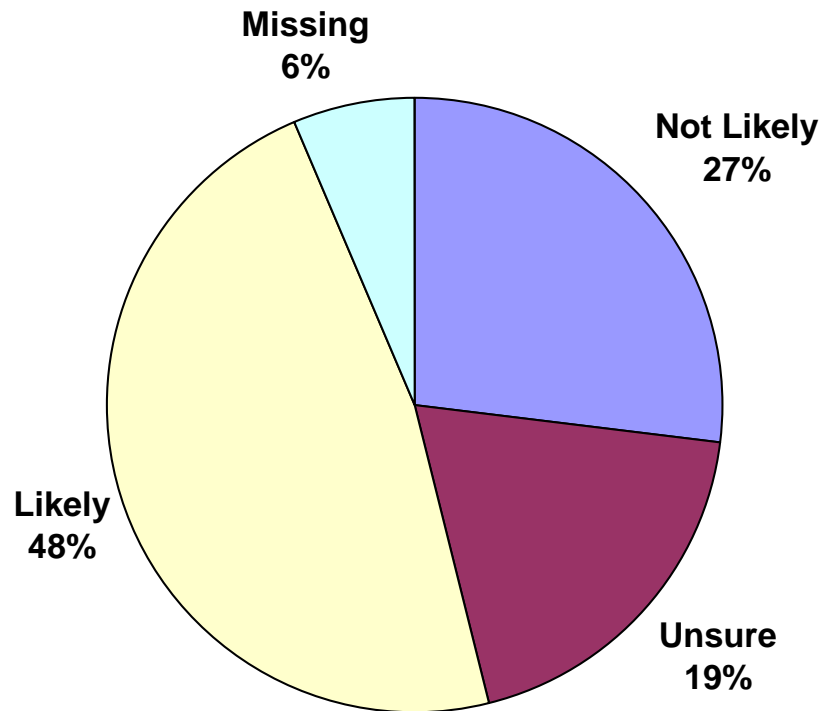
The next question asked respondents how long they had lived in the community around Hudson Avenue. Of the respondents, 26.6% had lived in the area one year or less, 51.1% reported living in the area five years or less, and 71.9% reported living in the area 10 years or less. The median number of years lived in the area for these respondents was five.

Respondents' Years Lived in Hudson Avenue Area



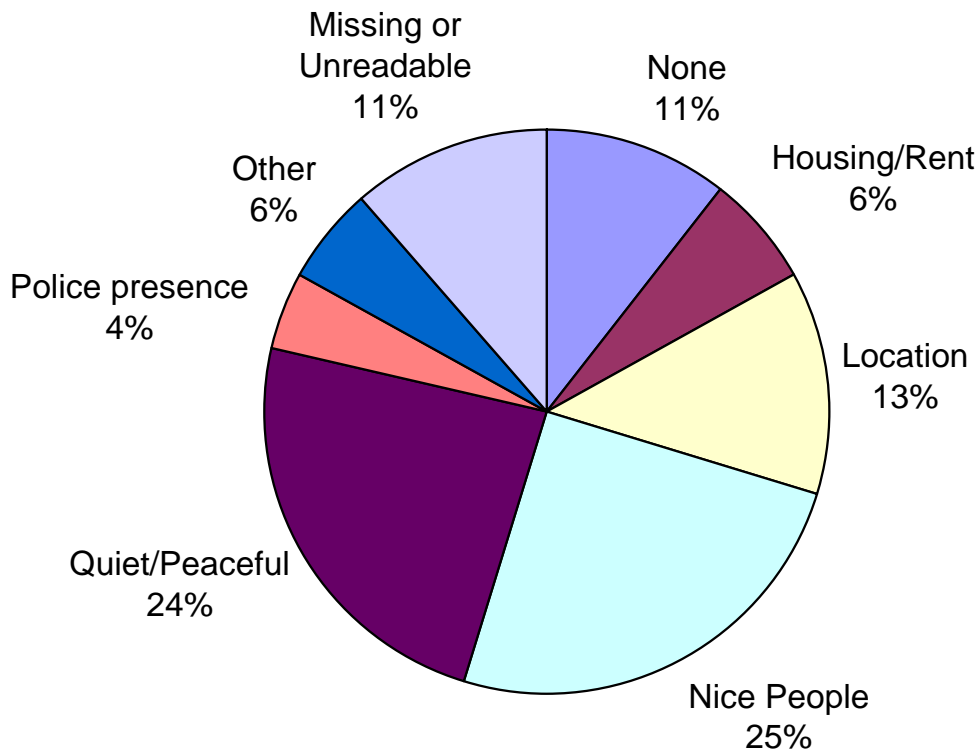
The next question asked residents how likely they were to be living in the community around Hudson Avenue in two years time. Responses were taken on a three point scale consisting of the responses 'not likely', 'unsure', and 'likely'. Of the 141 residents who were recorded in this survey, 48% responded that they were likely to be in the area in two years, 19% responded that they were unsure, and 27% responded that it was not likely that they would be in the area in two years. Only 6% of those surveyed did not answer this question.

Respondents' Likelihood of Being in the Neighborhood in 2 Years
N = 141



The next question asked residents to list the one thing they liked most in the community around Hudson Avenue. This question was open ended, meaning that the residents were not limited as to what they could respond. Most respondents, 25%, stated that they liked the people around Hudson Avenue, followed by 24% reporting that they liked how the area was 'quiet' or peaceful. The remaining responses are depicted in the graphic below. The category of 'other' refers to the responses of 'cameras', 'community programs', 'don't know, just moved here', 'lived there a long time', and 'its safe'.

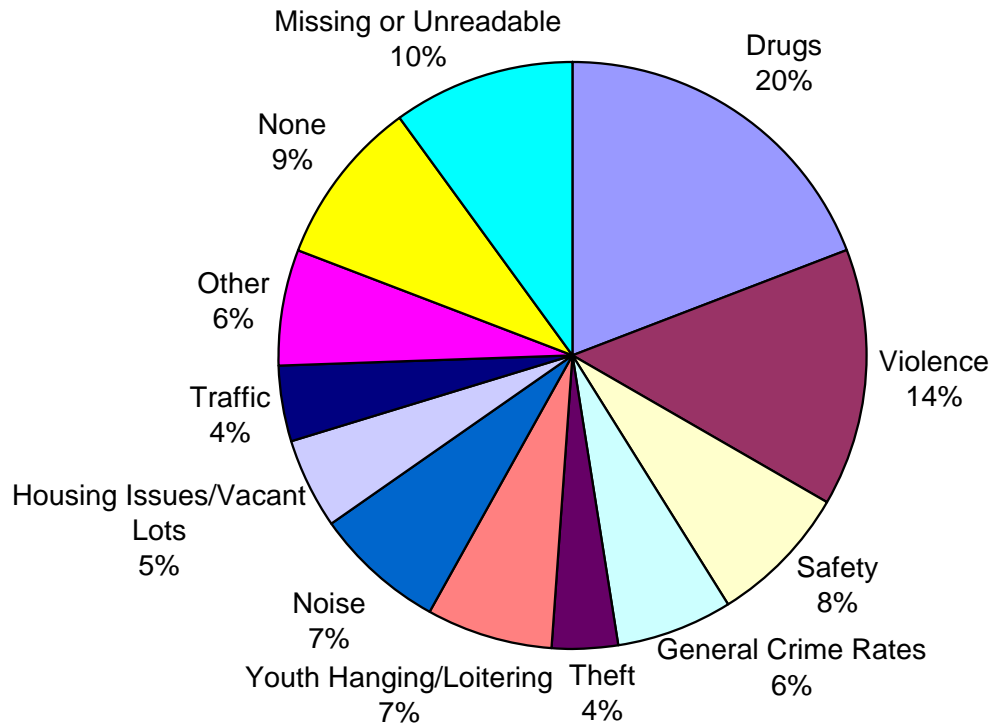
Hudson Avenue Area Respondents' Likes N = 141



The next question asked residents to list up to three concerns that they had in the community around Hudson Avenue. In this survey, the respondents were also asked to list these concerns in ranked order. The highest concerns listed by the community around Hudson Avenue will be discussed first, then the second, and then the third.

For the residents' highest listed concerns, 20% reported drugs and 14% reported violence. Of the respondents, 9% specifically reported that they had no concerns whatsoever.

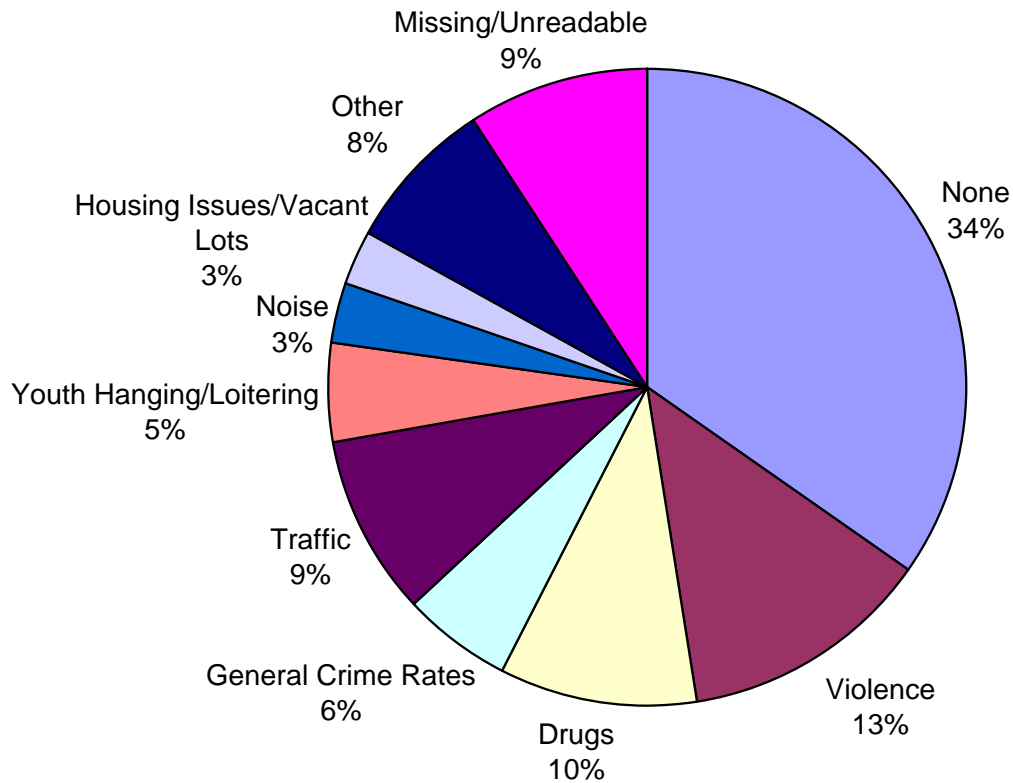
Hudson Avenue Respondents' Highest Concern N = 141



Other category includes: Failing Schools(3), Gangs(2), Anti-Gay Attitudes(1), Disrespectful Youth(1), Curfew(1), and Lack of Parental Supervision(1)

For the resident's second highest concern, 13% reported violence and 10% reported drugs. Because of the ranking system in the survey, those respondents who left only one concern total were reported as having no second highest concern and were coded with a 'none'. Resulting from this is 34% of the respondents reporting that they have no second concern.

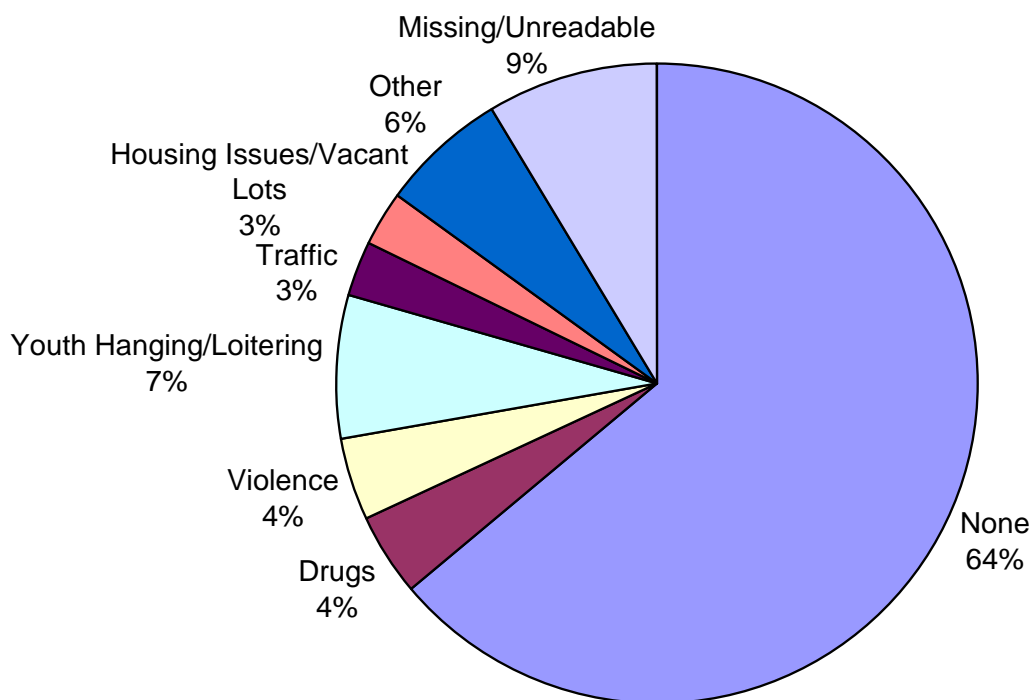
Hudson Avenue Respondents' Second Highest Concerns



Other category includes: Theft(1), Burglary(1), Personal Safety(1), Camera Surveillance(1), Verbal Disputes(1), Unprofessional Businesses(1), Vandalism(1), Gangs(2), and Garbage on Streets(2).

For the third highest concern, 7% reported concern for youth hanging out or loitering and 4% reported concern for both drugs and violence. Finally, 64% did not report a third concern for the same reason as stated for the second highest concern.

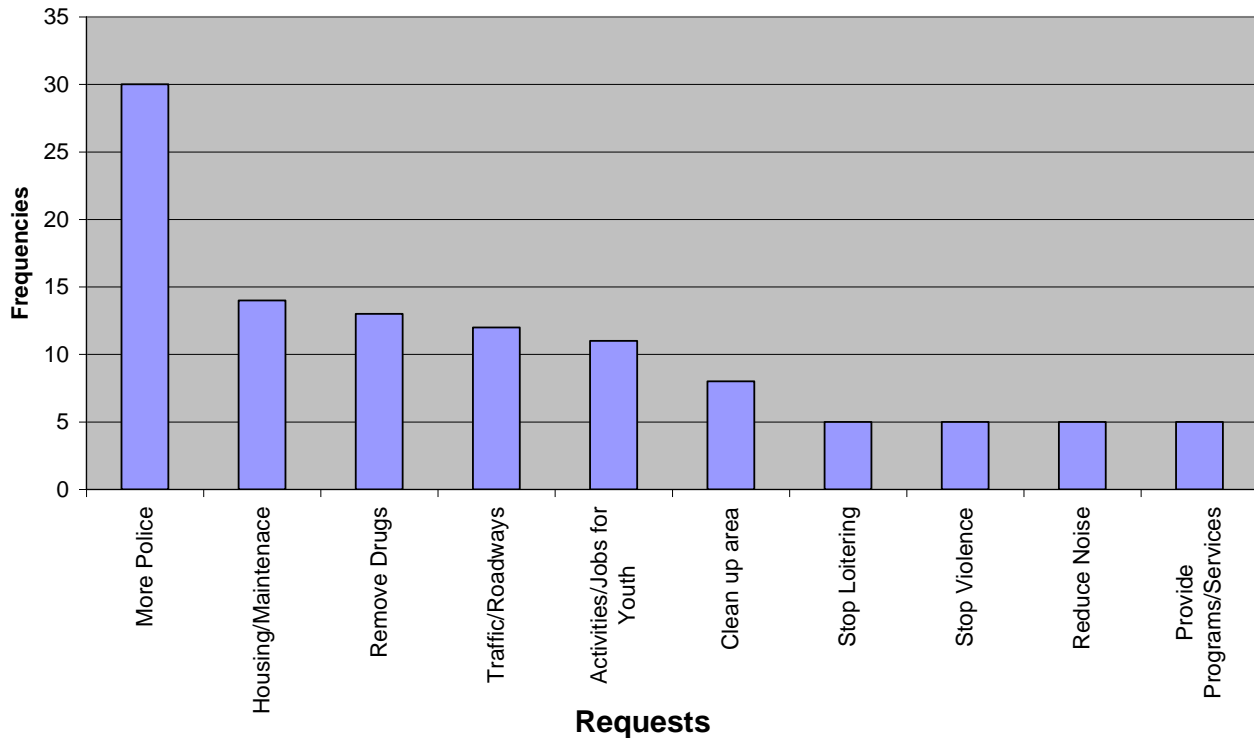
Hudson Avenue Respondents' Third Highest Concerns



Other category includes: Garbage on Streets(1), Prostitution(1), Camera Surveillance(1), General Crime(1), Rape(1), Verbal Disputes(2), Noise(2)

The next question asked respondents if there were any specific requests to be done in the community around Hudson Avenue. A total of 97 respondents listed a total of 122 requests. Only 25 respondents listed two requests. The most frequent requests were for more police officers followed by dealing housing and maintenance issues, which included tearing down abandoned houses and cleaning up yards. The remainder of the requests is listed below. Note that this graphic does not include the less frequent requests for; cameras(3), faster police response(3), street lights(2), curfew(1), take care of animals(1), more parental involvement(1), more police effort(1), to fix schools(1).

Specific Requests To Be Done



The next two questions asked respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police or their fellow community members. Because these questions were open ended, very little in the way of quantification can be done. However, their anecdotes can provide interesting insight into how the members of the community around Hudson Avenue think and feel about crime and quality of life issues in their community.

In regards to specific reports to tell police, 55 of the 141 left an answer. Of those, 20 reported specific crimes or behaviors. Those reports have been provided to Rochester Police Chief David Moore. Seven people provided encouragement for the police, saying that they were doing well. Six offered criticisms of police, requesting faster response times or stating that they ‘need to do their job.’

In regards to specific ideas to tell community members, 51 of the 141 left responses. Of those, 17 reported that community organization would be helpful. Another four requested community watch type programs. Other responses asked neighbors to watch their kids and to be safe.

Appendix G

Analysis of Lyell Avenue TIPS Initiative

(Trust – Information – Programs – Services)

Working Paper # 132

May 2010

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(Trust – Information – Programs – Services)
**Analysis of Lyell Avenue TIPS
Initiative Survey**

The TIPS initiative, which stands for Trust, Information, Programs, and services, on Lyell Avenue in Rochester, New York, was implemented to both to show support for a neighborhood that has been taken aback by drugs and youth violence, and to investigate community member's concerns and desires for their neighborhood. This report is designed to

analyze the second part of that initiative. It will discuss the various likes that the community south of Lyell Avenue has for the neighborhood, the various concerns the community south of Lyell Avenue has about their neighborhood, and the initiatives or activities the community south of Lyell Avenue would like implemented within the neighborhood. Finally, this paper will provide multiple anecdotes that the community members near Lyell Avenue wish to share with law enforcement and community members in the neighborhood around Lyell Avenue.

Methodology

The initiative used surveys to obtain this information. These surveys asked people to list their likes, concerns, and desires for things to be done within their neighborhood. The surveys asked community members how much they liked living in their area, how long they have lived there, and how likely they were to be living in the area in the future. The surveys then asked the respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police, and, finally, if they had anything to share with their fellow community members.

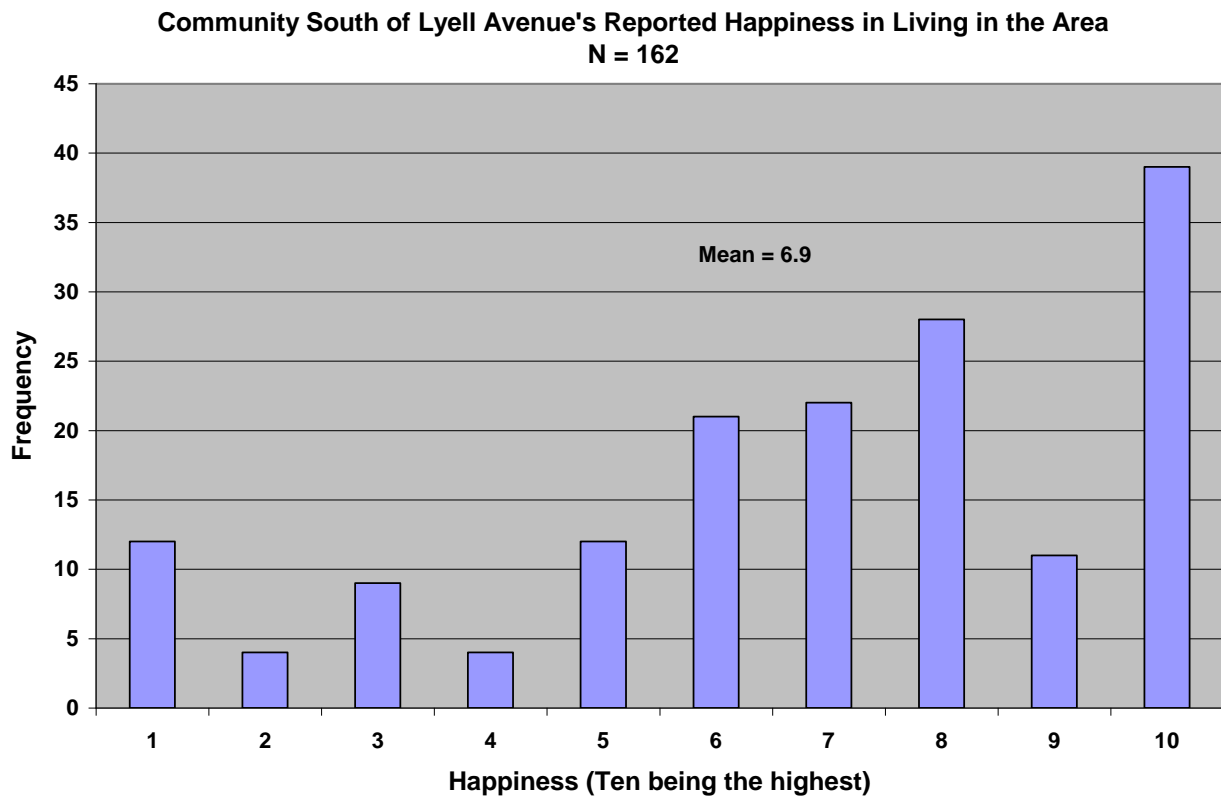
Groups of three or four volunteers were sent out to administer the survey to pre-selected streets in the neighborhood. Each group had at least one Rochester City Police officer with them. These groups were instructed to travel down one side of the street and then return on the other side, knocking on every door. When residents answered, the volunteers were to read a ready made script to the participant and then conduct the survey. Only those houses where residents responded and agreed to take the survey were included in the sample.

Because of this door-by-door sampling method, the resulting sample is not a random sample of the community surrounding Lyell Avenue. Despite this, the resulting analysis should give valuable insight into the various issues within the Lyell Avenue community.

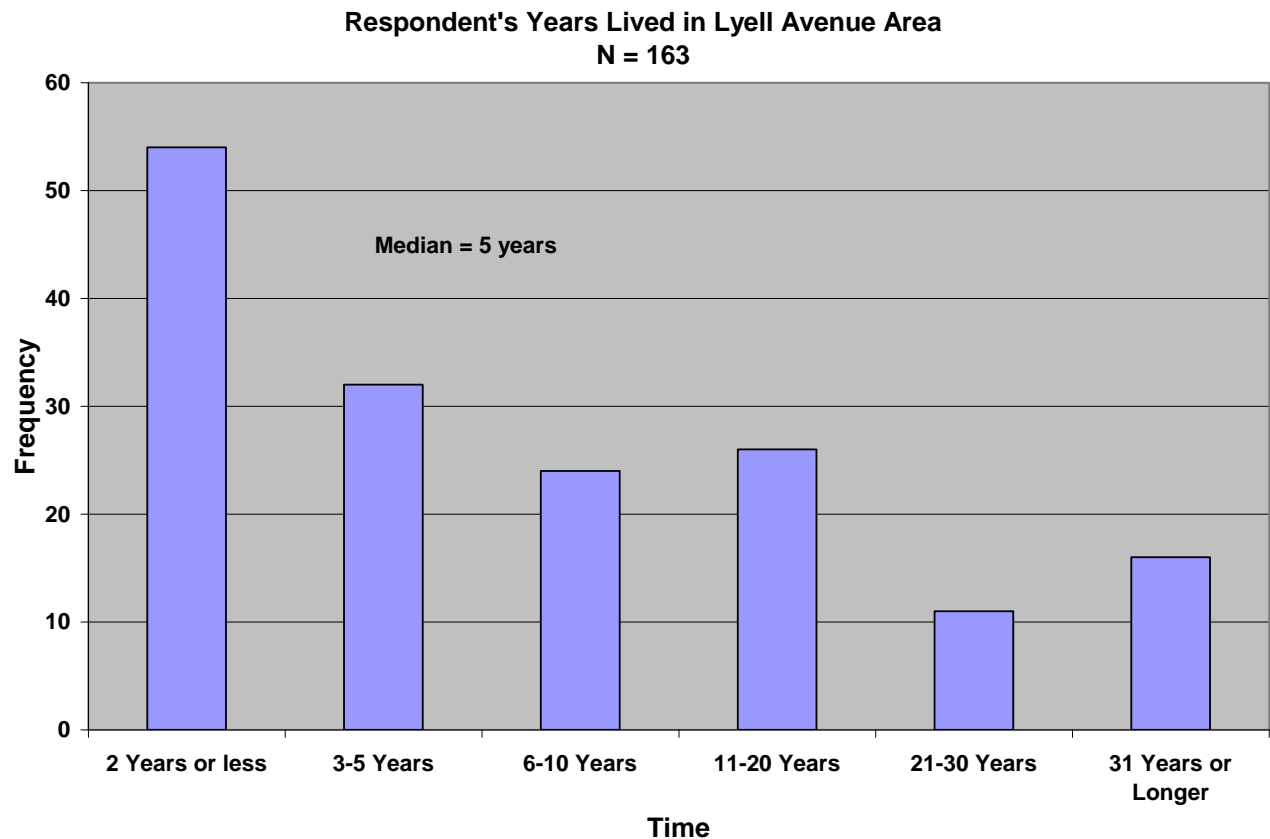
Data

Twenty-two groups surveyed thirteen streets in the neighborhood south of Lyell Avenue. These streets were Child Street, Whitney Street, Orchard Street, Saxton Street, Walnut Street, Grape Street, Riley Park, Lime Street, Smith Street, Kondolf Street, Jay Street, Orange Street, Romeyn Street, and Campbell Street. Due to a small number of surveys collected on each street it is difficult to accurately compare between them. Therefore, for this analysis the surveys collected from the streets mentioned above will be pooled together for analysis. This group will be referred to as ‘the community south of Lyell Avenue’. A total of **166** surveys were collected from the neighborhood.

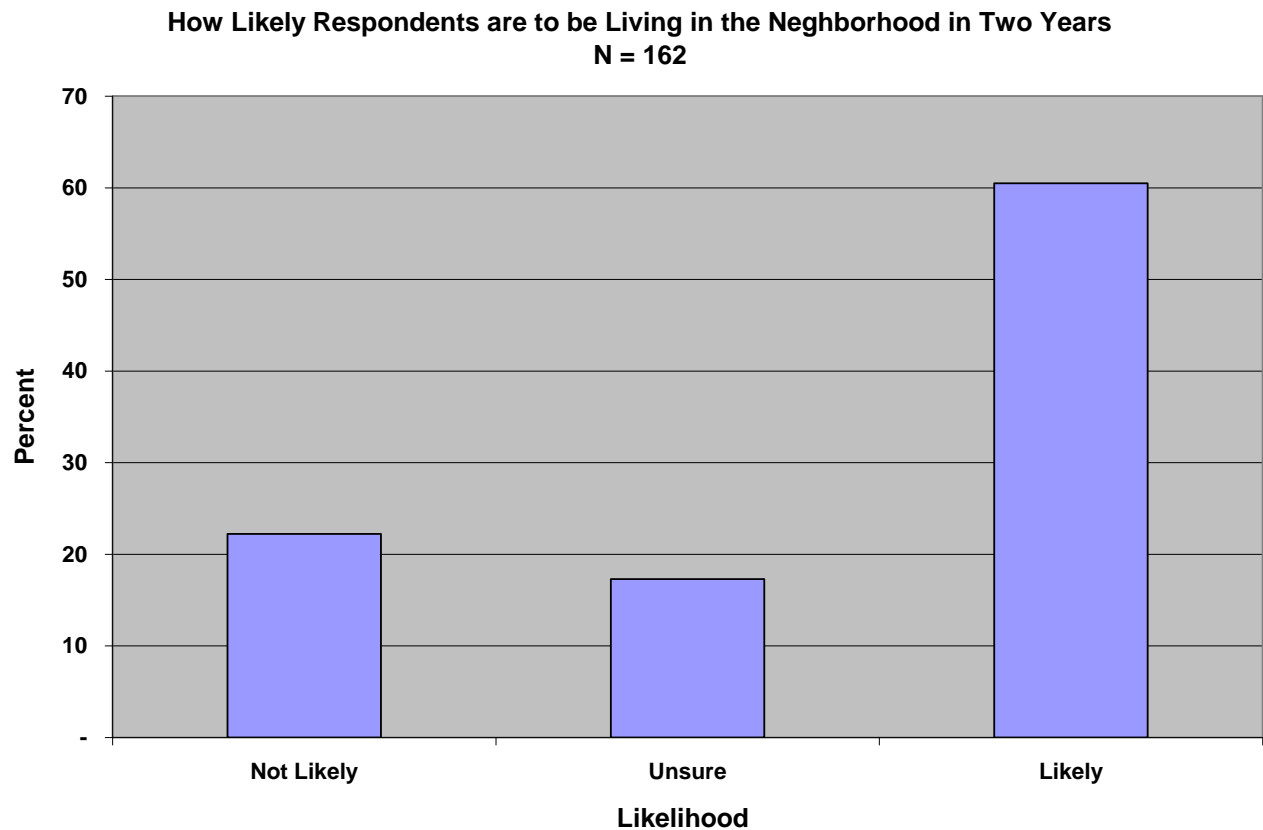
The first question to the community south of Lyell Avenue asked respondents to rate on a scale of one to ten, ten being the highest, how happy they were living in their neighborhood. Most respondents, 23.5%, listed a ten, the highest possible score. Overall, 74.7% reported a 6 or higher. The mean, or average, response for this section was a 6.9 on the 1-10 scale.



The next question asked respondents how long they had lived in the community south of Lyell Avenue. Of the respondents, 22.1% had lived in the area one year or less, 52.8% reported living in the area five years or less, and 67.5% reported living in the area 10 years or less. The median number of years lived in the area for these respondents was five.



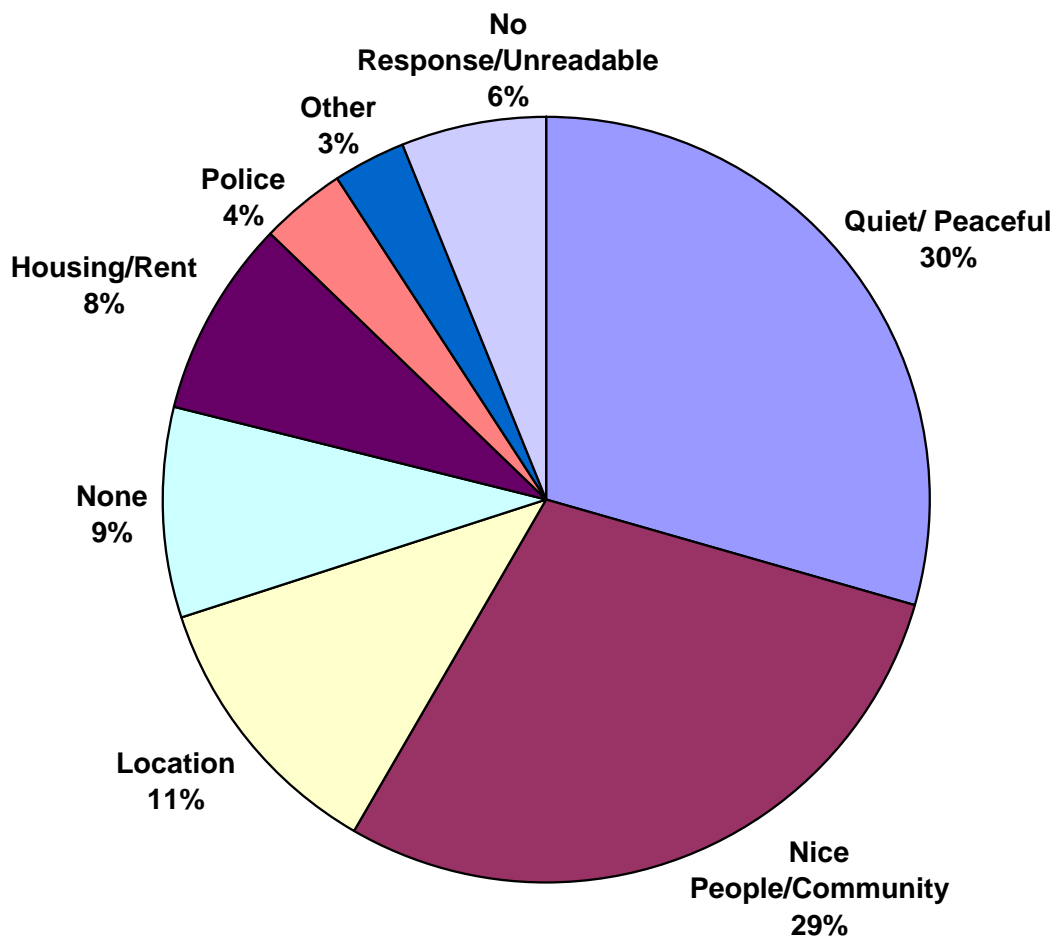
The next question asked residents how likely they were to be living in the community south of Lyell Avenue in two years time. Responses were taken on a three point scale consisting of the responses 'not likely', 'unsure', and 'likely'. Of the 163 residents who responded to this question, 60.5% stated that they were likely to be in the area in two years, 17.3% responded that they were unsure, and 22.2% reported that it was not likely that they would be in the area in two years.



The next question asked residents to list the one thing they liked most in the community south of Lyell Avenue. This question was open ended, meaning that the residents were not limited as to what they could respond. For the few residents who listed multiple responses, the first response was chosen. Most respondents, 30%, stated that they liked how the area was ‘quiet’ or peaceful, followed by 29% reporting that they liked the people around Lyell Avenue. The remaining responses are depicted in the graphic below. The category of ‘other’ refers to the responses of ‘Can’t say, I just moved here’, ‘everything’, ‘lived there a long time’, ‘it’s improving’, and ‘I can play my music’. Nine respondents did not answer the question, and one survey listed a response that was illegible.

Lyell Avenue Respondent's Reported Likes about their Neighborhood

N = 166

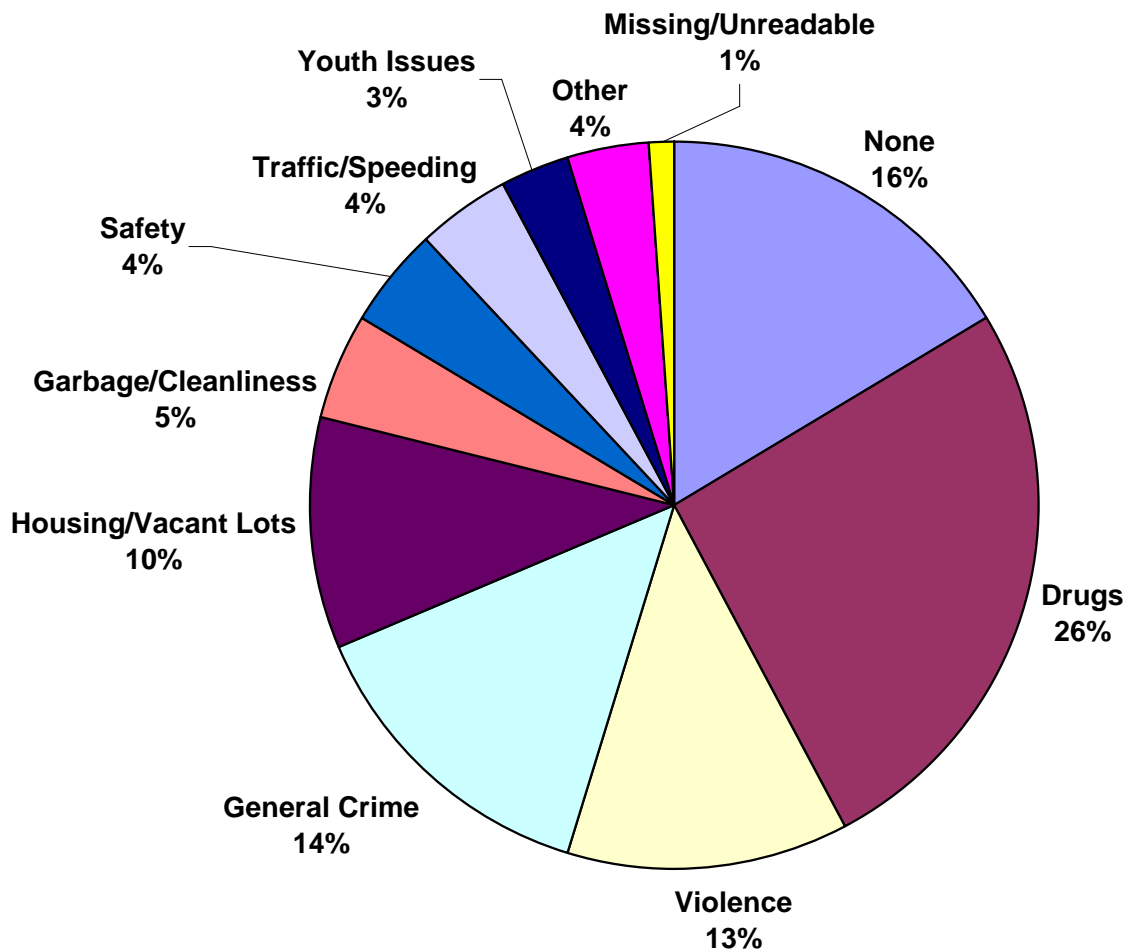


The next question asked residents to list up to three concerns that they had in the community south of Lyell Avenue. In this survey, the respondents were also asked to list these concerns in ranked order. The highest concerns listed by the community south of Lyell Avenue will be discussed first.

For the residents' highest listed concerns, 26% reported drugs and 13% reported violence. Of the respondents, 16% specifically reported that they had no concerns whatsoever.

- The category '**General Crime**' includes gangs (1), prostitution (1), arson (2), burglary (4), and theft (5).
- The category '**Youth Issues**' is composed of lack of parental supervision (1), lack of youth activities (1), and youth loitering (3).
- The category '**Other**' is composed of verbal disputes (1), dogs (1), lack of social cohesion (1), and noise (3).

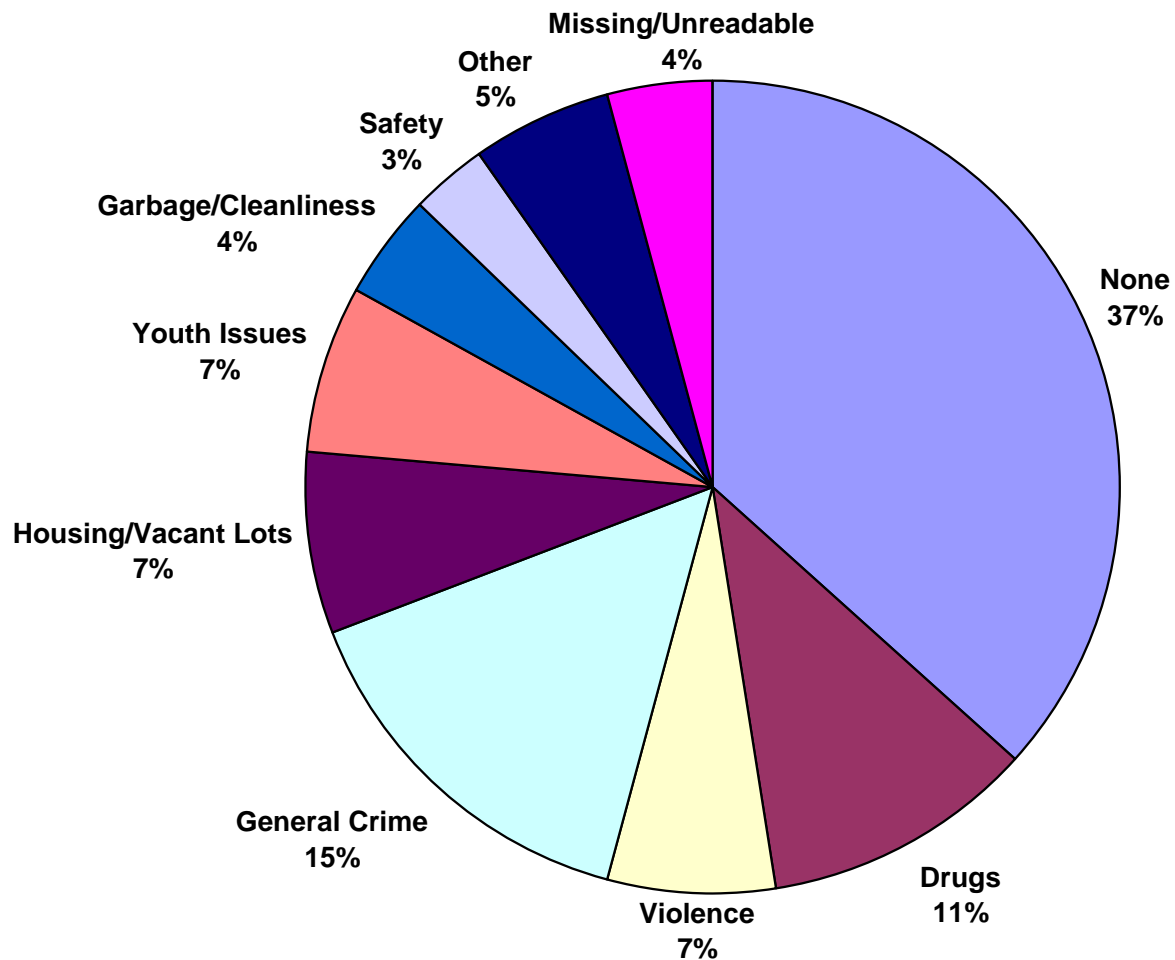
Lyell Avenue Area Residents' Highest Concerns N = 166



For the residents' second highest concern, 11% reported drugs and 10% reported violence. Because of the ranking system in the survey, those respondents who left only one concern, captured in the previous graph, were reported as having no second highest or third highest concern. These individuals were also coded as 'none'.

- The category '**General Crime**' includes arson (1), burglary (1), vandalism (2), gangs (3), theft (3), and prostitution (6).
- The category '**Youth Issues**' is composed of truancy (1), lack of parental supervision (1), lack of youth activities (2), disrespectful youth (3), and youth loitering (4).
- The category '**Other**' is composed of people in area (1), failing schools (1), rats (2), noise (2), and traffic/speeding (3).

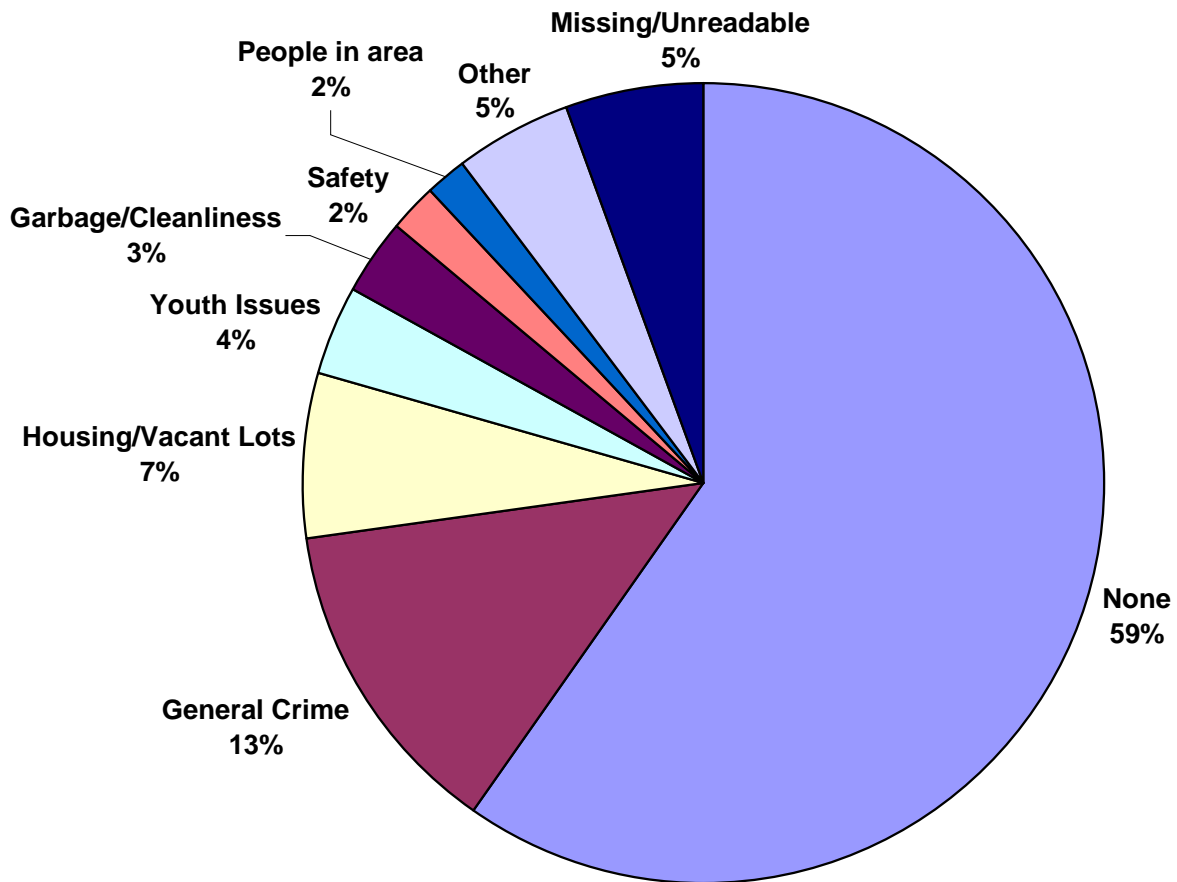
Lyell Avenue Area Residents 2nd Highest Concerns N = 166



For the third highest concern, 13% reported concern for general crime rates and 7% reported concern for housing or maintenance issues. Finally, 59% did not report a third concern.

- The category '**General Crime**' includes arson (1), prostitution (1), burglary (2), drugs (4), and violence (7).
- The category '**Youth Issues**' is composed of lack of parental supervision (1), lack of youth activities (1), disrespectful youth (1), and youth loitering (3).
- The category '**Other**' is composed of failing government agencies (1), slow police response (1), rats (1), and traffic/speeding (1), poverty (2), and noise (2).

Lyell Avenue Residents' 3rd Highest Concerns N = 166



Next, this analysis will look at these concerns in aggregate. The tables below list every concern listed by the community south of Lyell Avenue, broken down into issues of criminal activity and quality of life, respectively. These tables are mutually exclusive though one could make the argument that many of the concerns for criminal activity have a tremendous affect on the quality of life of those residents in the neighborhood south of Lyell Avenue.

Aggregated Concerns (Criminal Activity)

Concerns	Number that Reported Concern
Drugs	65
Violence	39
General/Increasing Crime Rates	26
Theft	8
Prostitution	8
Burglary	7
Gangs	4
Arson	4

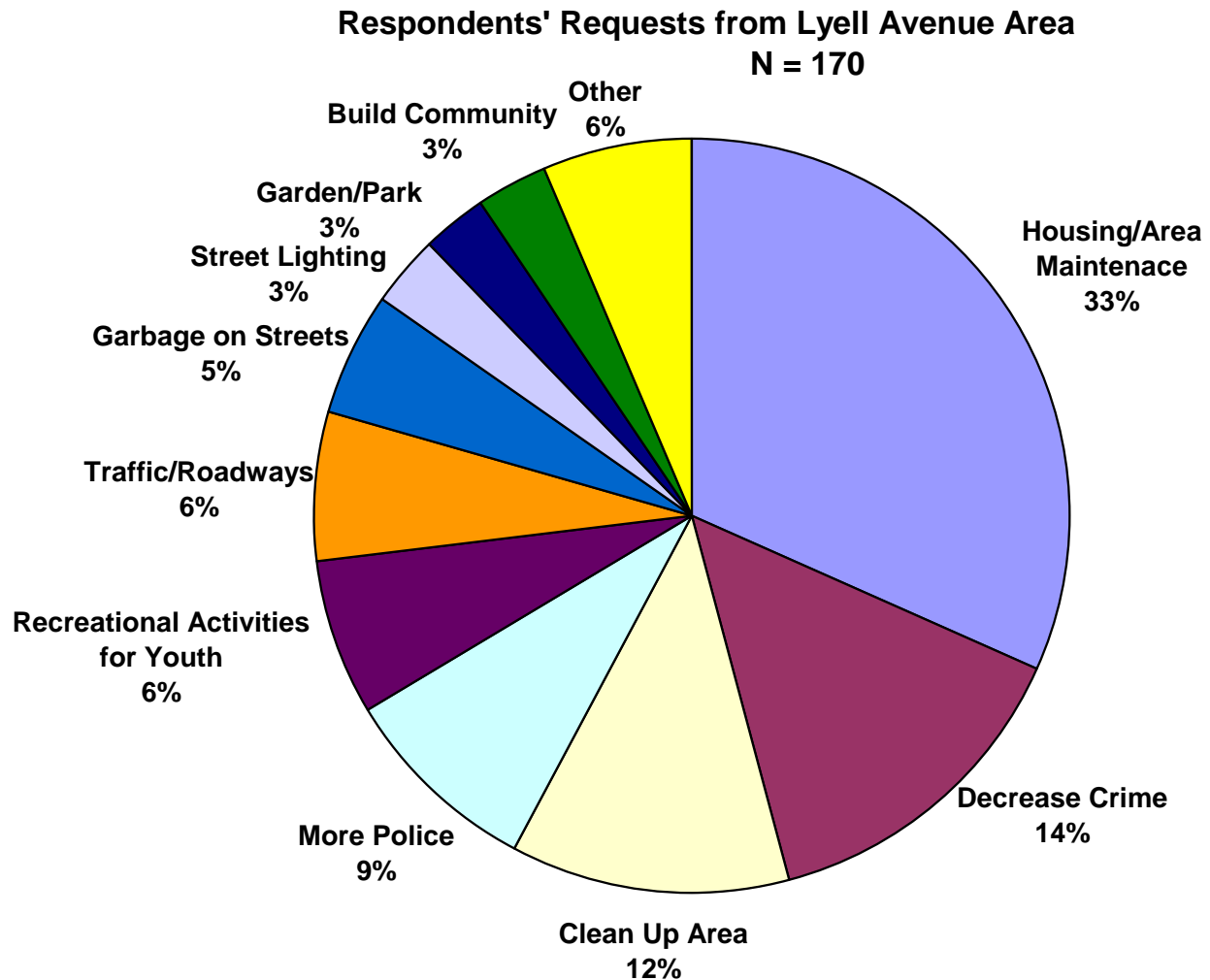
Vandalism	2
Total	163

Aggregated Concerns (QOL)

Concerns	Number that Reported Concern
Housing/Vacant Lots Maintenance Issues	40
Garbage/Cleanliness of Neighborhood	20
Traffic/Speeding	11
Youths Hanging Out	10
Youth Safety	8
Noise	7
Personal Safety	5
Lack of Youth Activities	4
People in Area	4
Disrespectful Youth	4
Lack of Parental Involvement/Supervision	3
Rats	3
Poverty	3
Slow Police Response	1
Verbal Disputes	1
Failure of Government Agencies	1
Lack of Community Cohesion/Unity	1
Dogs	1
Truancy	1
Failing Schools	1
Total	128

The next question asked respondents if there were any specific requests to be done in the community south of Lyell Avenue. A total of 140 respondents listed a total of 170 requests. Only 30 respondents listed two requests. The most frequent requests were for dealing with housing and maintenance issues (33%), which included tearing down abandoned houses and cleaning up yards, followed by a general calling to see a reduction in crime. The remainder of the requests is listed below.

- The category **‘Decrease Crime’** includes calls for reductions in drugs (16), prostitution (2), violence (2), gangs (2), and theft (1).
- The category **‘Other’** is composed of calls for a community watch (4), cameras (3), a safer neighborhood (2), more respectful people (1), and more parental involvement (1).



Next, this analysis will look at these requests in aggregate. The tables below list every request posited by the community south of Lyell Avenue, broken down into issues of policing and quality of life, respectively. These tables are mutually exclusive. Notice the shift in the number of policing related requests compared to the number of QOL requests. A significant number of respondents listed a QOL request where as only a modest number of respondents listed a policing request. The disparity between the number of policing requests listed and the number of policing concerns listing is interesting.

Requests (Policing Issues)

<u>Requests</u>	<u>Number that Reported Request</u>
Reduce Drugs	16
More police	15
Cameras	3
Reduce Gangs	2
Reduce Violence	2
Reduce Prostitution	2

Reduce Theft	1
Decrease Crime Generally	1
Total	42

Requests (QOL Issues)

Requests	Number that Reported Request
Housing/Vacant Lots Maintenance Issues	54
Clean up Area	20
Traffic/Speeding	11
Recreational Activities for Youth	11
Clean up Garbage on Streets	9
Build Community	5
Street Lights	5
Garden/Park	5
Community Watch	4
Increase Safety	2
Make People more Respectful	1
More Parental Involvement	1
Total	128

Community Anecdotes

The next two questions asked respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police or their fellow community members. Because these questions were open ended, it is difficult to accurately quantify the majority of these statements. However, these anecdotes can provide interesting insight into how the members of the community south of Lyell Avenue think and feel about police, crime, community, and quality of life issues in their neighborhood.

In regards to specific statements for police, 97 of the 166 residents left a response. Of those, only a handful reported specific crimes or criminal behaviors. Those reports have been provided to Rochester Police Chief David Moore. Sixteen people provided encouragement for the police, saying that they were ‘doing a good job’, or to ‘keep up the good work’. Eight offered criticisms of police, requesting faster response times or stating that ‘[the] police stereotype.’ Others listed that they wished police would use ‘more foot patrols and less car patrols.’ Finally, two respondents requested that the police ‘interact more with citizens on a positive note’ particularly when crime is inactive in an area.

In regards to specific ideas to tell community members, 63 of the 166 left responses. Of those 63, 38 reported in one way or another that building community, working together, or organization would be helpful in the area. The majority of the other respondents asked neighbors to take care of their homes and yards.

Appendix H

Analysis of Ontario & Scio Project TIPS

(Trust – Information – Programs – Services)

Working Paper # 133

July 2010

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(Trust – Information – Programs – Services)
Analysis of Ontario & Scio Project TIPS
Survey

The TIPS initiative, which stands for Trust, Information, Programs, and services, at the intersection of Ontario Street and Scio Street in Rochester, New York, was implemented to both to show support for a neighborhood that has been taken aback by drugs and youth violence, and to investigate community member's concerns and desires for their neighborhood. This report is

designed to analyze the second part of that initiative. It will discuss the various likes that the Ontario & Scio community has for the neighborhood, the various concerns the Ontario & Scio community has about their neighborhood, and the initiatives or activities the Ontario & Scio community would like implemented within the neighborhood. Finally, this paper will provide multiple anecdotes that the Ontario & Scio community wish to share with law enforcement and community members in the neighborhood.

Methodology

The initiative used surveys to obtain this information. These surveys asked people to list their likes, concerns, and desires for things to be done within their neighborhood. The surveys asked community members how much they liked living in their area, how long they have lived there, and how likely they were to be living in the area in the future. The surveys then asked the respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police, and, finally, if they had anything to share with their fellow community members.

Groups of three or four volunteers were sent out to administer the survey to pre-selected streets in the neighborhood. Each group had at least one Rochester City Police officer with them. These groups were instructed to travel down one side of the street and then return on the other side, knocking on every door. When residents answered, the volunteers were to read a ready made script to the participant and then conduct the survey. Only those houses where residents responded and agreed to take the survey were included in the sample.

Because of this door-by-door sampling method, the resulting sample is not a random sample of the Ontario & Scio community. Despite this, the resulting analysis should give valuable insight into the various issues within the Ontario & Scio community.

Data

Seventeen groups surveyed eleven streets in the Ontario & Scio community. These streets were Davis Street, Lewis Street, Ontario Street, Woodward Street, Weld Street, Lyndhurst Street, Scio Street, Union Street, Champeney Terrace, Kenilworth Terrace, and Alexander Street. Due to a small number of surveys collected on each street it is difficult to accurately compare between them. Therefore, for this analysis the surveys collected from the streets mentioned above will be pooled together for analysis. This group will be referred to as 'the Ontario & Scio community'. A total of **162** surveys were collected from the neighborhood.

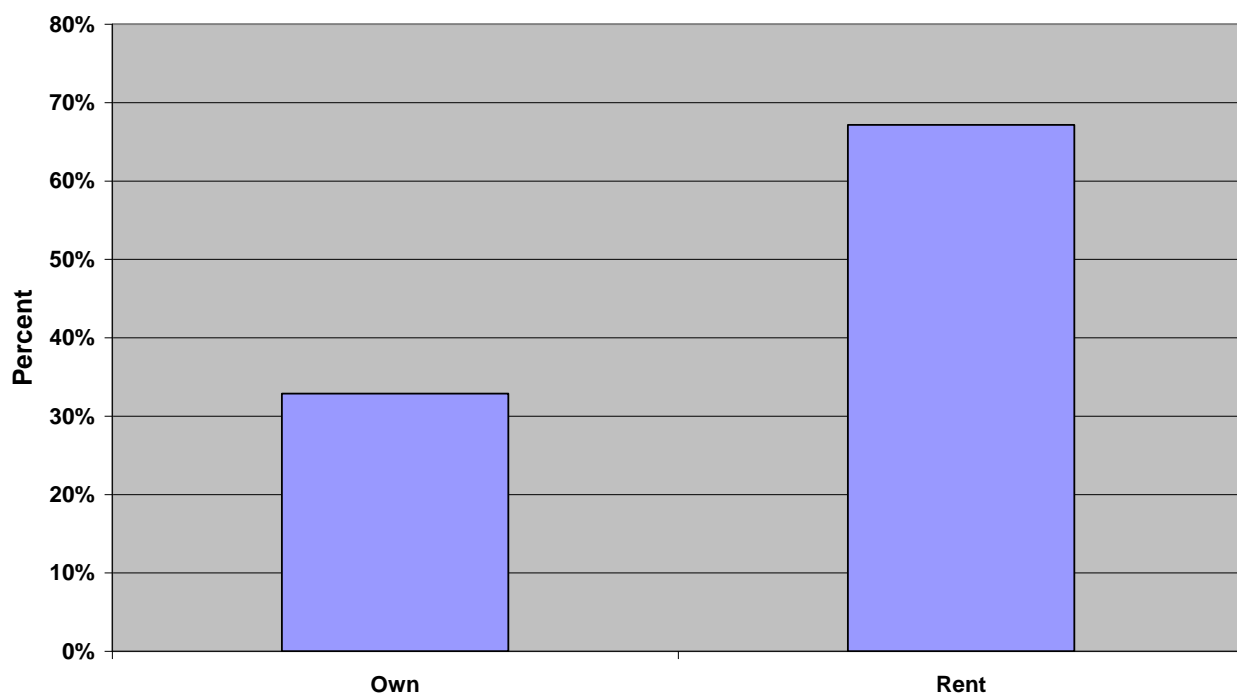
The first question to the Ontario & Scio community asked respondents to rate on a scale of one to ten, ten being the highest, how happy they were living in their neighborhood. Most respondents, 19.1%, listed an eight, the third highest score. Overall, 67.5% reported a 6 or higher. The mean, or average, response for this section was a 6.7 on the 1-10 scale.

Happiness of Community Around Ontario & Scio Intersection
N = 152



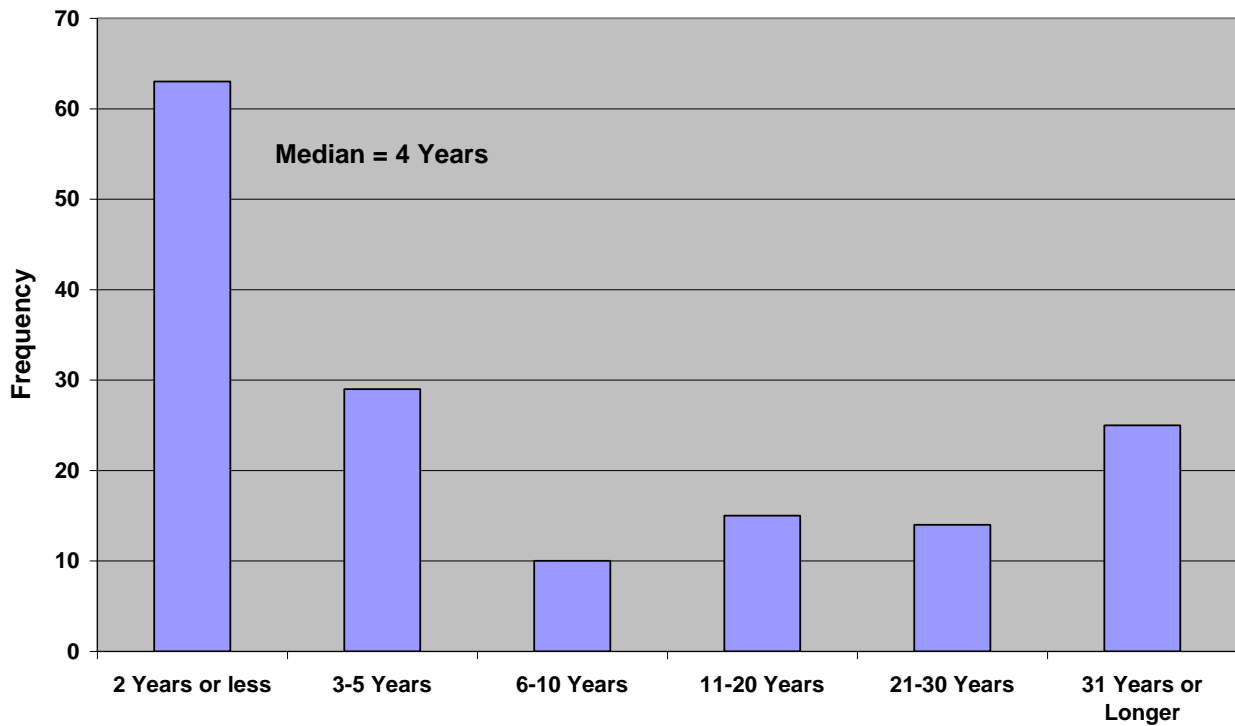
For the first time in a Project TIPS community survey, residents were asked about their living situation. Specifically, residents were asked if they owned or rented their property. Of the 143 residents who answered this question, 32.9% reported that they owned their property and the remaining 67.1% reported that they rented the property.

Living Situation for Ontario & Scio Community Residents N = 143



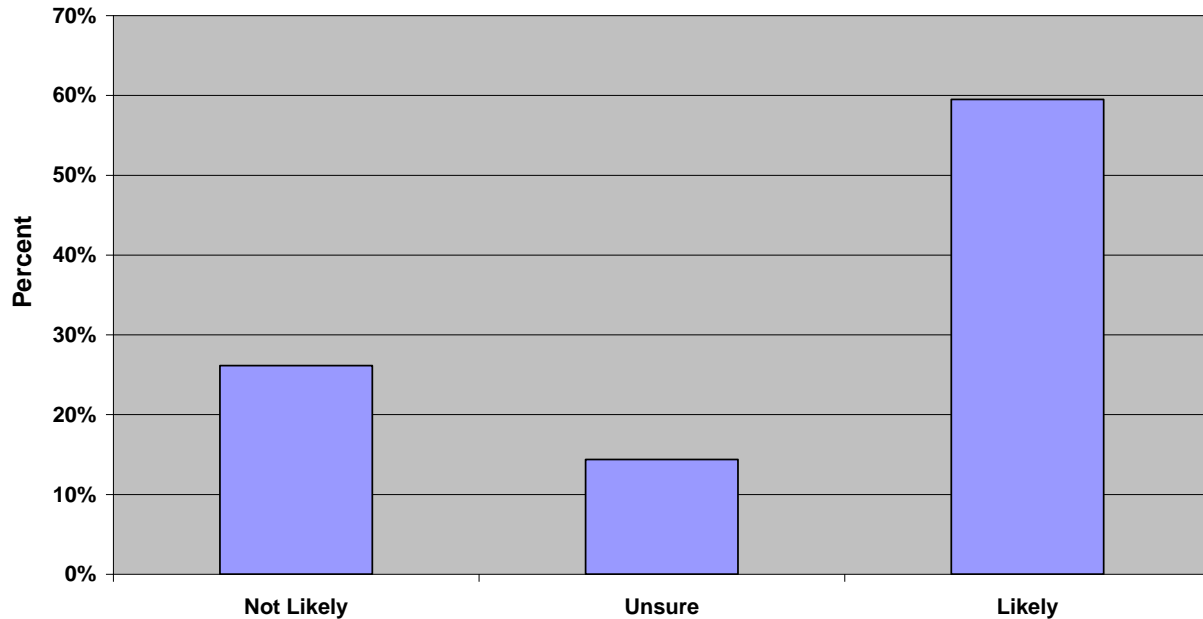
The next question asked respondents how long they had lived in the Ontario & Scio community. Of the respondents, 27.6% had lived in the area one year or less, 59% reported living in the area five years or less, and 65.4% reported living in the area 10 years or less. The median number of years lived in the area for the respondents was four.

Respondent's Years Lived in Ontario & Scio Community
N = 156



The next question asked residents how likely they were to be living in the Ontario & Scio community in two years time. Responses were taken on a three point scale consisting of the responses 'not likely', 'unsure', and 'likely'. Of the 153 residents who responded to this question, 59.5% stated that they were likely to be in the area in two years, 14.4% responded that they were unsure, and 26.1% reported that it was not likely that they would be in the area in two years.

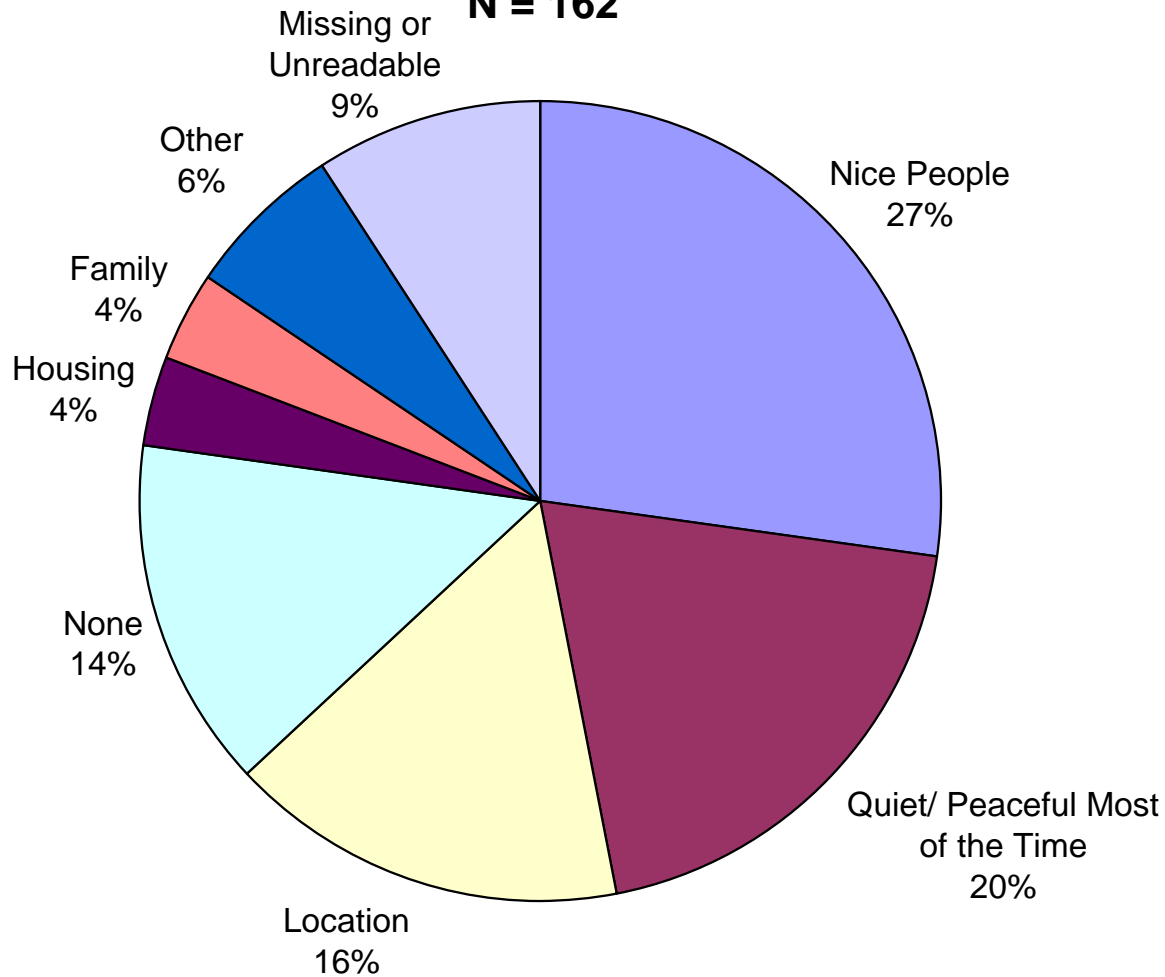
**Likelihood that Ontario & Scio Residents Will Be living in the
Area in Two Years
N = 153**



The next question asked residents to list the one thing they liked most in the Ontario & Scio community. This question was open ended, meaning that the residents were not limited as to what they could respond. For the few residents who listed multiple responses, the first response was chosen. Most respondents, 27%, stated that they liked the people around the Ontario Scio Intersection, followed by 20% reporting that they liked how the area was ‘quiet’ or peaceful. The remaining responses are depicted in the graphic below. The category of ‘other’ refers to the responses of ‘Can’t say, I just moved here’, ‘everything’, ‘lived there a long time’, ‘it’s potential’, ‘drugs’, ‘it’s clean’, ‘it’s active’, and ‘the police’. Twelve respondents did not answer the question.

Ontario & Scio Community Residents Likes

N = 162



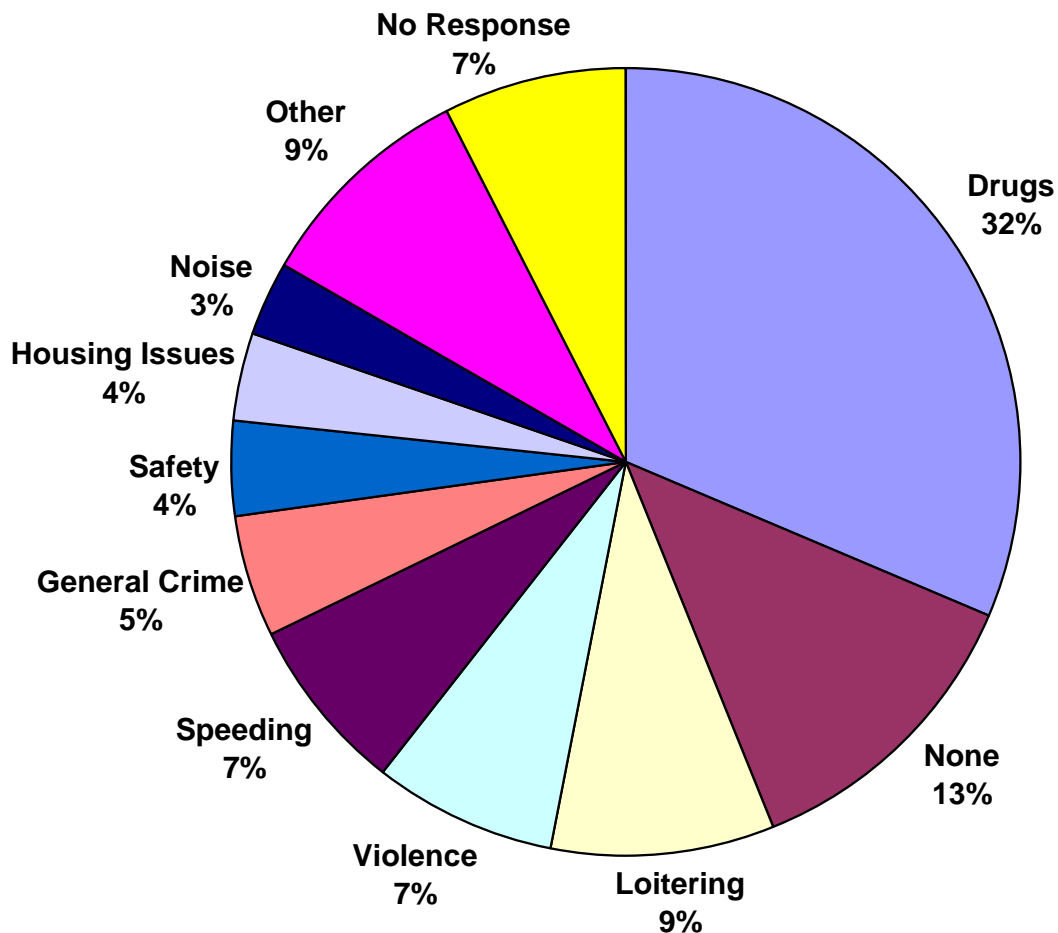
The next question asked residents to list up to three concerns that they had in the Ontario & Scio community. In this survey, the respondents were also asked to list these concerns in ranked order. The highest concerns listed by the Ontario & Scio community will be discussed first.

For the residents' highest listed concerns, 32% reported drugs and 9% reported loitering youth. Of the respondents, 13% specifically reported that they had no concerns whatsoever.

- The category '**General Crime**' includes gangs (1), theft (1), and burglary (1).
- The category '**Other**' is composed of police harassment (1), bad police (1), lack of business (1), verbal disputes (1), slumlords/absentee landlords (2), the corner store (3), lack of youth activities (3), and garbage on streets (3).

Highest Concern for Ontario and Scio Community Residents

N = 162

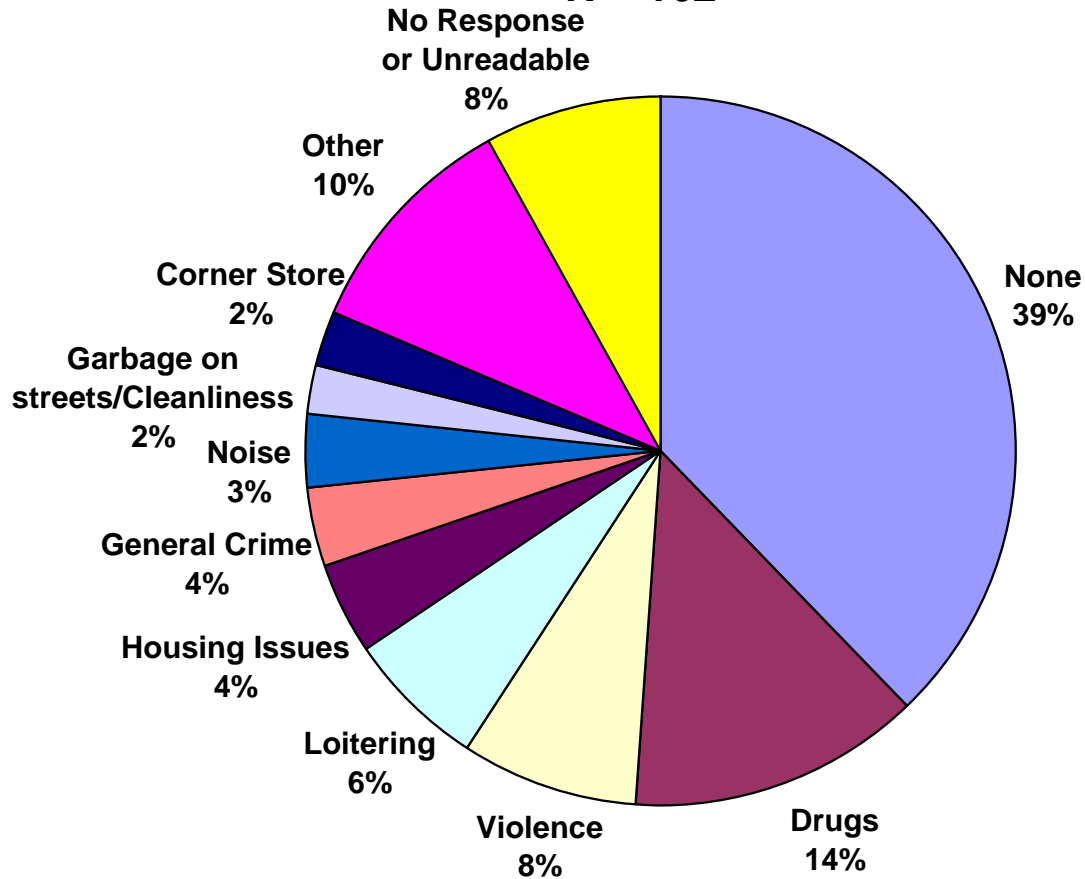


For the residents' second highest concern, 14% reported drugs and 8% reported violence. Because of the ranking system in the survey, those respondents who left only one concern, captured in the previous graph, were reported as having no second highest or third highest concern. These individuals were also coded as 'none'.

- The category '**General Crime**' includes burglary (2), and gangs (2).
- The category '**Other**' is composed of police distribute caller's name (1), people with shopping carts (1), police brutality (1), no jobs(1), lack of youth activities(1), lack of business(1), slow police response (1), dogs (1), the alleys (2), speeding (3), and safety (3).

Second Highest Concern for Ontario and Scio Community Residents

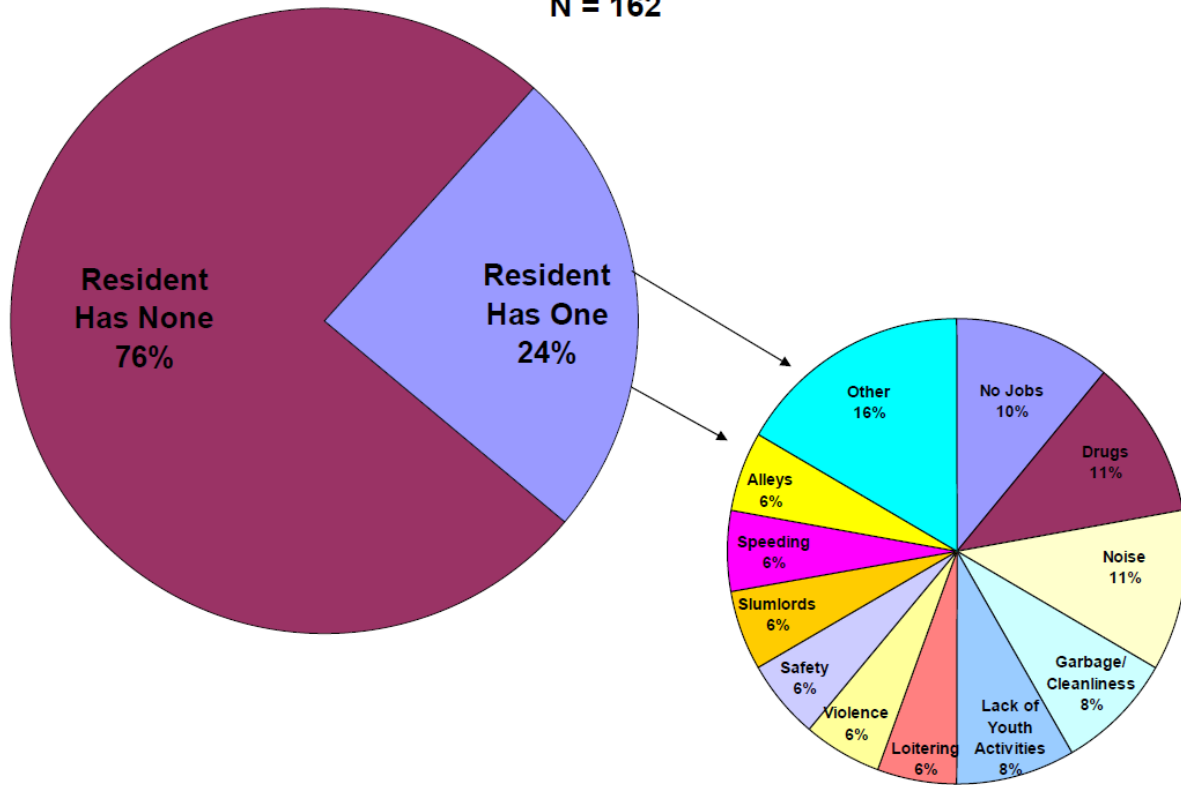
N = 162



For the third highest concern, 26% reported a variety of concerns. These are listed in the graphic below. Finally, 74% did not report a third concern.

- The category '**Other**' is composed of lack of business (1), general crime (1), snow removal (1), youth bullies (1), people not doing the right thing (1), and housing issues (1).

**Third Highest Concern for Ontario & Scio Community
Residents
N = 162**



Next, this analysis will look at the reported concerns in aggregate. The tables below list every concern listed by the Ontario & Scio community, broken down into issues of criminal activity and quality of life, respectively. These tables are mutually exclusive though one could make the argument that many of the concerns for criminal activity have a tremendous affect on the quality of life of those residents in the community Ontario & Scio community.

Aggregated Concerns (Policing or Criminal Activity)

Concerns	Number that Reported Concern
Drugs	77
Violence	27
Safety	11
General Crime	8
Corner Store	7
Burglary	3
Gangs	3
Theft	1
Slow Police Response	1
Police Harassment	1
Police Brutality	1
Police Distribute Caller's Names	1

Bad police Officers	1
Total	142

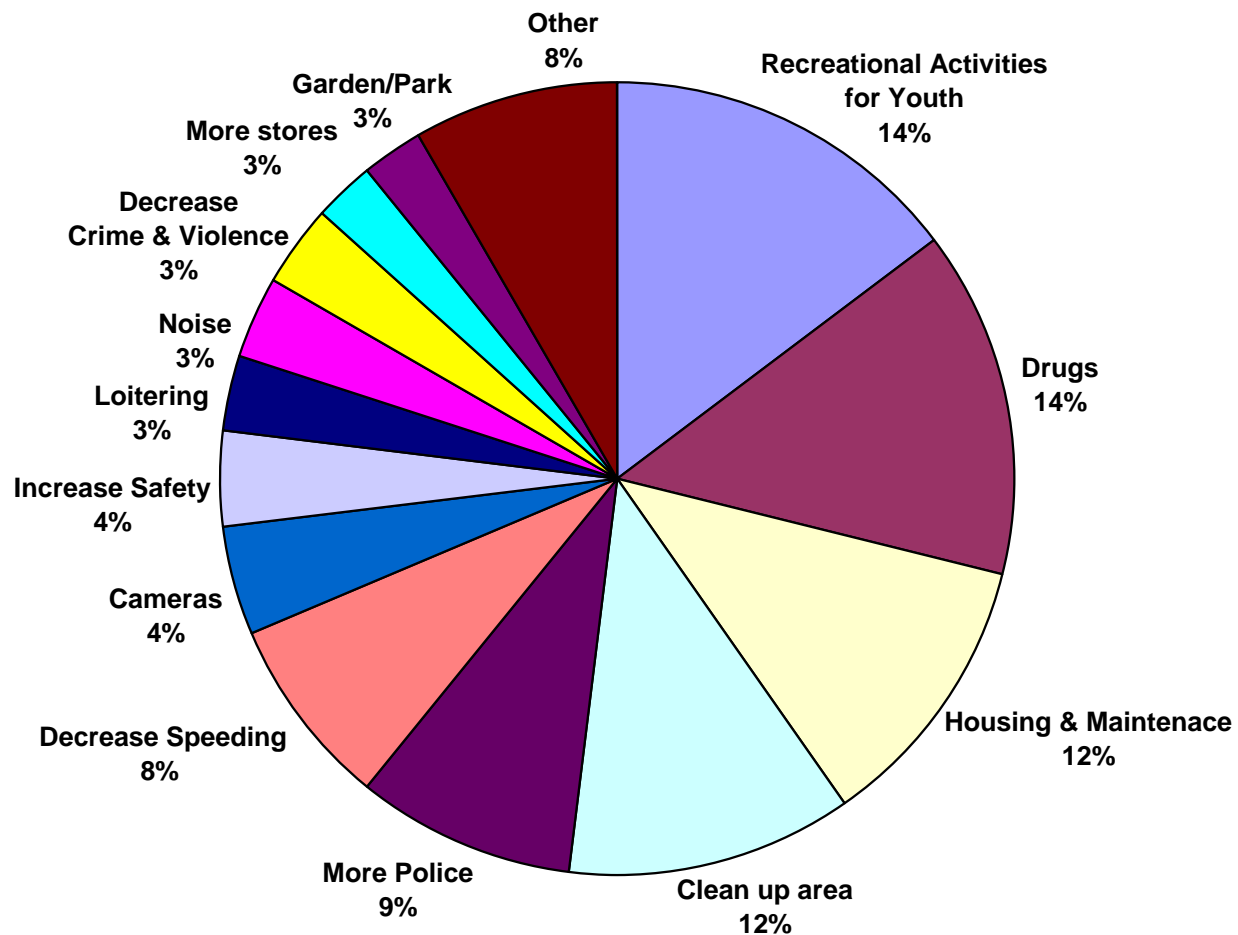
Aggregated Concerns (QOL)

Concerns	Number that Reported Concern
Loitering	27
Speeding	17
Noise	14
Housing Issues	14
Garbage on Streets	10
No Jobs	6
Lack of Youth Activities	6
Slumlords/Absentee Landlords	4
Alleys	4
Lack of Business	3
Dogs	1
People with Shopping Carts	1
Verbal Disputes	1
Disrespectful Youth	1
People not Doing the Right Thing	1
Youth Bullies	1
Snow Removal	1
Total	112

The next question asked respondents if there were any specific requests to be done in the Ontario & Scio community. A total of 111 respondents listed a total of 156 requests. Eighteen respondents listed two requests, and twelve listed three. The most frequent requests were for dealing with housing and maintenance issues (33%), which included tearing down abandoned houses and cleaning up yards, followed by a general calling to see a reduction in crime. The remainder of the requests is listed below.

- The category **‘Other’** is composed of calls for a improve police attitude (1), build community (1), make people more respectful (1), increase police effort (1), take care of groundhogs (1), reduce truancy (1), improve access to resources (1), fix schools (1), implement community policing (1), form a community watch (1), implement a curfew (1), and take care of slumlords (2).

Requests from Ontario and Scio Community



Next, this analysis will look at these requests in aggregate. The tables below list every request posited by the Ontario & Scio community, broken down into issues of policing and quality of life, respectively. These tables are mutually exclusive. Notice the shift in the number of policing related requests compared to the number of QOL requests. A significant number of respondents listed a QOL request where as only a modest number of respondents listed a policing request. The disparity between the number of policing requests listed and the number of policing concerns listing is interesting.

Requests (Policing Issues)

<u>Requests</u>	<u>Number that Reported Request</u>
Reduce Drugs	22
More police	14
Cameras	7
Reduce Violence	3
Decrease Crime Generally	2
Implement Curfew	1

Implement Community Policing	1
Increase Police Effort	1
Improve Police Attitude	1
Total	52

Requests (QOL Issues)

Requests	Number that Reported Request
Recreational Activities for Youth	23
Housing/Vacant Lots Maintenance Issues	18
Clean up Area	18
Speeding	12
Increase Safety	6
Decrease Loitering	5
Reduce Noise	5
More Stores	4
Build Parks or Gardens	4
Deal with Slumlords	2
Make People more Respectful	1
Community Watch	1
Build Sense of Community	1
Fix Schools	1
Improve Access to Resources	1
Decrease Truancy	1
Take Care of Groundhogs	1
Total	128

Community Anecdotes

The next two questions asked respondents if they had anything specific to tell the police or their fellow community members. Because these questions were open ended, it is difficult to accurately quantify the majority of these statements. However, these anecdotes can provide interesting insight into how the members of the Ontario & Scio community think and feel about police, crime, community, and quality of life issues in their neighborhood.

In regards to specific statements for police, 60 of the 162 residents left a response. Of those, 10 reported specific crimes or criminal behaviors. Those reports have been provided to Rochester Police Chief David Moore. Unlike previous Project TIPS, only one respondent provided encouragement for the police, thanking them for their presence. Four offered criticisms of police, requesting that ‘police stop harassing people’, and that they ‘can’t trust you because you tell others that we reported them.’ A large contingent of residents want police to know that there is generally criminal activity in the neighborhood.

In regards to specific ideas to tell community members, 100 of the 162 left responses. Of those 100, 50 reported in one way or another that building community, working together, or organizing would be helpful in the area. Other respondents asked neighbors to call the police more, parent their children more, and take care of their homes and yards.